

PJ
25
069

CORNELL
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

PJ
25
069

Cornell University Library

THE EISENLOHR COLLECTION IN
EGYPTOLOGY AND ASSYRIOLOGY

PRESENTED TO CORNELL UNIVERSITY BY

A. Abraham

1902

A.163765

4/8/1902

JOHNS HOPKINS SEMITIC PAPERS.

The Beginning of The Babylonian Nimrod Epic, by Paul Haupt.

The Names of the Hebrew Vowels, by Paul Haupt.

The Marburg Collection of Cypriote Antiquities,

by Christopher Johnston.

The Fall of Nineveh, by Christopher Johnston.

Note on Two Assyrian Words, by Christopher Johnston.

The Polychrome Lion of Babylon, by Karl J. Grimm.

The Meaning and Etymology of the word רתוישיר,

by Karl J. Grimm.

The Internal Passive in Semitic, by Frank R. Blake.

The Word זרה in the Siloam Inscription, by Frank R. Blake.

Two Unidentified Geographical Names, by Rev. T. C. Foote.

The Old Testament Expression *zanáh ahré*, by Rev. T. C. Foote.

Gideon's Water-Lappers, by Rev. Wm. B. McPherson.

An Early Egyptian Cylinder, by James T. Dennis.

A Rare Royal Cartouche, by James T. Dennis.

The Modern Chaldeans and Nestorians, by Rev. Gabriel Oussani.

The Arabic Dialect of Baghdâd, by Rev. Gabriel Oussani.

Reprinted from the JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, vol.
xxii, First Half, 1901.

Cornell University Library
PJ 25.069

Oriental studies:



3 1924 026 815 039

olin



Oriental Studies

BEING

A SELECTION OF PAPERS

READ BY MEMBERS OF THE

Oriental Seminary

OF THE

Johns Hopkins University

BALTIMORE, MD.

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

American Oriental Society

HELD IN NEW YORK

APRIL, 1901



New Haven, Conn.

1901

D
K^o

REPRINTED FROM VOL. XXII OF THE
Journal of the American Oriental Society

DEDICATED

TO

Daniel Coit Gilman

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

IN COMMEMORATION OF

the seventieth anniversary of his birthday

JULY 6TH, 1901

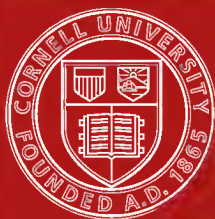
BY THE MEMBERS OF THE

Oriental Seminary

OF THE

Johns Hopkins University

BALTIMORE, Md.



Cornell University
Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

<http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924026815039>



—:—:— Addenda et Corrigenda —:—:—

PP. LL.

- 3, 10 : For 51 read 50.
 n.3 : For 197 read 179; cf. also *ibid.* 131, 25; 135, 41.
 5, 6 : *thou wilt live for ever* (cf. ll. 7. 207 of the Flood Tablet) should have been enclosed in brackets; so, too, *to his belt* (Assyr. *ana šibbišu*) in l. 8 and *from his belt* in l. 10.
 44 : For *Orientalische* read *Orientalistische*.
 46 : Add: Contrast KB 6, 223, 11.
 6, 1 : For *from* read *of*. [the colophons.
 3 : Add to *wrote*: (lit. *laid down*; cf. *kirib ekalliija ukîn* at the end of
 8 : For *pronounced* read *recited* or *read*.
 17 : For *whō* read *who*.
 n.2 : Prefix: Lit., *which does not release*.
 26 : For *kima* read *kîma*.
 7, 4 : For *Zeits-* read *Zeit-*.
 6 : For *Kautsch* read *Kautzsch*; so, too, p. 8, l. 27.
 18 : The figure 4 should be appended to *spiration* in the following line.
 20 : Omit 5 after *phonetics* and at the beginning of n. 5: note 5 is the
 8, 13 : For (read —. [continuation of n. 4.
 15 : For) read —.
 9, 5 : For *Hebraists* read *Hebraist*.
 7 : For *stem* read *term*.
 11 : For *guttural* read *guttur*; so, too, p. 107, n. 1.
 18 : After *not* insert *to*.
 11, 14 : For — read (—).
 24 : For *murmeltvocal* read *Murmeltvocal*.
 26 : For שָׁבָא read שָׁבָא.
 27 : For *Casper* read *Caspar*.
 29 : For פָּתַח read פֶּתַח.
 35, 4 : For וַיִּגֵּד read וַיִּגְדֵּל.
 36, 8 : For תּוֹשִׁיָה read תּוֹשִׁיָה.

PP. LL.

- 42, n. 3 : Prefix: *Cf.*, however, תַּעֲבֹדִים &c. (see NESTLE, *Marginalien*, pp. 12 f.).
- 43, n. 1 : Add: See below, p. 98, n. 3.
n. 3 : For *impt.* read *impf.*
- 44, 22 : Insert comma after *by*.
n. 2 : For فُرح read فُرح.
- 45, 14 : For قَوْل read قَوْل.
- 46, 1 : For شَكْسِي read شَكْسِي.
6 : For *zēhîvû* read *zēhîvû*.
28 : For *luqqāh* read *luqqāh*.
- 47, 12 : For יקטל read יקטל.
- 48, 12 : For קָטָן read קָטָן.
- 51, 14 : For נְקִיבוֹתָא read נְקִיבוֹתָא.
25 : Add: *Cf.* also critical note on Deut. 2, 34 in SBOT.
- 52, 21 : For *below* read p. 53.
38 : For p. 59 read p. 53.
- 53, 4 : After زَنْد insert: (*cf.* πυρείον).
20 : Omit *and*.
n. 1 : Add: Some forms of زَنْد are connected with زان.
23 : For زَنْد read زَنْدَة.
24 : For زَنْدَة read زَنْد.
28 : For *carpel* read *carpal*.
- 54, 3 : Insert *and* before *it*.
6 : Omit stop after *-ma*; so, too, in ll. 7. 9. 10. 11.
18 : For יעור read ובעור.
23 : For *mēqāl* read *mēqāl*.
24 : After *cf.* insert המים.
- 55, 20 : After שרון insert *and*.
- 59, 29 : Is. 23, 15-18 is post-Exilic. [*cf.* Lev. 5, 15).
35 : After *holiness to the Lord* (*cf.* p. 62, l. 35) add: (κορβαὶν Mark 7, 11;
- 62, 40 : For Deut. 14, 2: "Boy, whatever &c. read: Deut. 14, 26: "What-
63, 29 : For *Lesestüchs* read *Lesestücke*. [*ever* &c.]
- 68, n. 2 : For p. 121 in the first line of this note read p. 12.
For *Qēbç* in the last line of this note read *Gēbç*.
- 71, 20 : For *Mittheil-ungen* read *Mitthei-lungen*.
- 74, 11 : For *Books* read *Book*.
- 76, 11 : Before and after *Tartary* insert commas.
- 77, 37 : For *Testament* read *Testaments*. [p. 87, l. 17.]
- 79, 7 : For *Mansili* read *Mausili*; so, too, p. 80, l. 16; p. 86, ll. 30. 33. 36;
18 : For *Chaldei* read *Chaldæi*.
- 80, 1 : Omit (1).
- 82, n. 1 : Read *Orient. Literaturblatt*.
- 83, 5 : For *officis* read *officii*.
- 84, 12 : For *á* read *a*.
18 : Read *patriar-charum*.
- 86, 38 : For *comparé savec* read *comparés avec*.
- 91, 17 : For *fidde* read *fiŷze*.

PP. LL.

- 91, 24 : For كبيغ read كبيغ.
 30 : After *Stumme* add *Landberg, Fischer, &c.*
- 92, 22 : For والسين read والسين; so, too, p. 93, l. 1.
 n.4: For *Würte* read *Wüste*.
- 94, 15 : For مكتبه read مكتبة.
 28 . For صائت read مائت.
 n.3: Read *Assyri-ologie*.
- 95, 10 . For كاتب read كاتب, and after *in* add: *the dialect of Baghdād.*
 32 : For 'aġfôgh read 'aġfôgh.
 n.2: Prefix: *Cf.* above, p. 42, n. 3.
- 97, 17 : For *Segolate* read *segolate*.
 n.5: For 102 read 96.
- 98, 18 Read ائى *ajiu*.
 23 : For فتلونو read فتلونو.
- 99, 11 : After *bini* add: (cf. *binû* 'with him,' below, p. 102, l. 27).
- 100, 20 : For فعولى read فعولى.
 33 : For *qatalkunnu* read *qataltinu* (*cf.* p. 98, l. 22).
 34 . For قتلكت read قتلكت.
 35 For قتلتم read قتلتم.
- 101, 20 . For ة read ة; so, too, ll. 21.22.25; *cf.* p. 53, l. 24.
- 102, 5 : For *ûlâ ika* read *ûlâ ika*.
 7 : For *hâdhâlîayma* read *hâdhâlîayma*.
 12 : For لائى read لائى.
 13 : For شئى read شئى.
 18 : For *şuâqit* read *şuâqit*; *cf.* l. 19, and p. 92, l. 10.
 22 : For *sauîijata*ⁿ read *sauîijata*ⁿ.
 25 . For شئىء read شئىء.
 n.2: For 110 read 104.
- 103, 6 For هجج read هجج.
 16 : For *talmidh* read *talmidh*.
- 104, 8 : For جرك read جرك.
 15 : For *peškir* read *peškir*.
 n.1: For *Κηρύσω* read *κηρύσω*.
 n.2: For 109 read 103.
- 105, 2 : For ة read ة; so, too, l. 28.
 13 : For و read و.
 19 . For ع read ع.
- 106, 17 : For *Jâfar* read *Jâfar*.
 21 . For موشى read موشى.
 29 . For حسدة read حسدة,
- 107, 16 . For لغبيغ read لغبيغ.
 18 : For همينا read همينا.
 19 . For هليوم read هليوم.
 20 : For وقال لى read وقال لى.
 21 . Dele dot above مبيكه.
 22 : For نيا read نيا.

PP. LL.

108, 3 : For *yiçitni* read *yiçitni*; *cf.* p. 96, l. 24.

16 : For بالسوف read بالسوق.

19 : The ا in ايتى is too small (*w. f.*).

It might be well to add that Professor HAUPT was unable to read the proofs of these papers (except the galley proofs of pp. 12-38 and 64-69).



*The Beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic.*¹—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

FOR more than ten years after Geo. Smith's discovery of the twelve tablets of the Babylonian Nimrod² Epic, in 1872, the fragment K. 3200, with the description of the siege of Erech, was considered to be the first fragment of the series,³ until I succeeded, nearly twenty years ago, in finding the beginning of the epic. While autographing the text for my edition, I noticed that the indistinct traces of the first line of the fragment K. 2756, c, which had generally been assigned to the third tablet of the series, lent themselves to the characters constituting the name of the series, *ša naqba emuru*. As the opening line is generally used as the name of the series, it was evident that I had at last discovered the first tablet and the opening fragment of the epic.

Delitzsch, in the second edition of Mürdter's *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Calw and Stuttgart, 1891), accepted my identification; so, too, Dr. Alfred Jeremias in his *Izdubar Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1891). On plate iv of Jeremias' book I published a new fragment giving the last four characters of the first line of the series, viz., *di-ma-a-ti*. Although Jeremias adopted my identification of the first fragment of the series, he still believed that the description of the siege of Erech on K. 3200 belonged to the first tablet, while he assigned the other fragments of the first tablet in my edition to the second tablet of the series. We find this old error even in Professor Jastrow's excellent book *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), p. 472.

In his transliteration and translation of the Nimrod Epic, published in the sixth volume of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (Berlin, 1900), Professor Jensen believes, with me, that the

¹ Read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in New York, April, 1901.

² Cf. my remarks in the Critical Notes on Proverbs (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 33, l. 18.

³ Cf. Geo. Smith, *Assyr. Discoveries*, fifth edition (London, 1875), p. 168; *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, ed. A. H. Sayce (London, 1880), p. 192; German translation, by Hermann Delitzsch (Leipzig, 1876), p. 169.

fragments assigned by Jeremias and Jastrow to the second tablet constitute the first tablet of the series, and the initiated know that Jensen would no doubt have preferred to make my first tablet the last of the series if he had had the ghost of a chance.¹ He seems to consider the identification of the first fragment a very simple thing. He says the number of the tablet is fixed by the first line, which is identical with the name of the series.² It is undoubtedly very simple, after the indications given in my edition; but before the publication of my text it was not so easy. I had autographed several pages of my edition before I made the discovery, and I had to rewrite several pages in order to give the fragments of the first tablet in their proper order.

Jensen also adopts my theory that K. 3200, generally supposed to be a fragment of the first tablet, does not belong to the Gilgamesh series.³ This fragment describes a siege of the ancient city of Erech. Men and beasts were all in a panic. The she-asses trampled under foot their foals, the wild cows cared not⁴ for their calves. And the people were just as much frightened⁵ as the beasts; like doves moaned the maidens.⁶ The gods of Erech, the well-walled,⁷ turned to flies humming through the squares; the guardian angels of Erech, the well-walled, turned to mice and slipped away into holes. For three years was the city of Erech besieged by the enemy: the gates were barred and fastened; the goddess Istar could not make head⁸ against Erech's enemies.⁹

¹ Eighteen years ago I assigned the two fragments K. 2589 and K. 8590 (Nos. 5 and 6 of my edition), tentatively, to the third tablet of the series. Jensen, on p. 189 of his translation, gives them as columns iii and iv of the seventh tablet, but on p. x of his introductory remarks he assigns them again to the second tablet.

² Cf. KB. 6, 117. n. 2 and contrast A. Jeremias, *Izdubar Nimrod*, p. 14.

³ Contrast Bezold's *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection in the British Museum*, p. 2078, b (London, 1899).

⁴ Lit. *hated*; cf. *μῶσω* Matt. 6, 24; Luke 14, 26; 16, 13; John 12, 25; Rom. 9, 13.

⁵ Jensen: *brüllt*; see, however, Critical Notes on Proverbs (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 61, l. 46.

⁶ (cf. Nah. 2, 8; see *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 3, 103).

⁷ Jensen: *Hürden-Erech!*

⁸ For the corresponding Hebrew phrase *נתן ראש* see Crit. Notes on Ezra-Nehemiah (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 70, l. 8.

⁹ The Assyrian text reads as follows:—*idûšâ mârešîna atânâti || izîrâ pârešîna l'âtî || kîma bâlu ummâni icâtî: || kîma summâti idâmumâ ardâti || ilâni ša Uruk supûri || ittûrû ana zumbe icâbubû ina rêbâti ||*

Professor Jensen, referring the masculine suffix of *nakrišu* to the goddess, translates, *Istar does not put her head upon her enemy*,¹ which is absolutely meaningless.

There are a number of peculiar renderings in Jensen's work which are characteristic of his idiosyncrasies rather than of his scholarship. He thinks it more scientific to translate what he calls literally; he uses such preposterous phrases, for instance, as *sie machten Zunge*² (p. 21, l. 134); *seine Nase war gesenkt* (p. 87, l. 1); *ihr Bauch sich erheitert* (p. 87, l. 16); *die Freudenmädchen ihren Bauch erschüttern* (p. 91, l. 51). He thinks it more accurate to say *he loosens dreams*³ instead of *he interprets them* (Assyr. *šunātu ipāšar*), and my unscientific translation *über mein Antlitz flossen meine Thränen*⁴ is replaced by *auf die "Mauer meiner Nase" gehen meine Thränen(güsse)*, which is picturesque but wrong: *dûr appi* does not mean the *wall of the nose* but the *circuit of the nose*, i. e. the cheeks (cf. KAT.² 501, 2). Jensen is right, however, in adopting my theory that the fragment describing the siege of Erech does not belong to the series. There is no room for it in the narrative.

The beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic is, unfortunately, very much mutilated and, therefore, rather difficult. In his *Assyrian Discoveries*, Geo. Smith translated the first line: *The waters of the fountain he had seen, the hero, Izdubar*. In Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, edited by A. H. Sayce (p. 183), the line was explained to mean: *The canals, the toiling hero, the god Izdubar had seen*. In the German translation of Smith's work we find the rendering, *Das Unglück, das man Izdubar betreffen sah*, 'the calamity which was seen to come over Izdubar.' But the ideograms KU-GAR IZ-ṬU-BAR mean *Series of Izdubar* and do not belong to the text of the first line of the epic;⁵ the line ends, as I stated above, with *-di-ma-a-ti*.

šedu ša Uruk supûri || ittûrû ana šikke-ma ittâcû ina nunçabâti || III šanâta âl Uruk lâmî nakru || abullâti uddulâ, nadû xargulla || Istar ana nakrišu ul išâkan qaqqadsa || etc.

¹ "Setzt" Istar "ihr Haupt" nicht auf ihren Feind.

² If a German translated the English phrase *the dog gave tongue*, literally, *der Hund gab Zunge*, he would simply show that he did not understand the English idiom, and translations like *Pferdemann* for *horseman* would be ridiculous.

³ "Löst" die Traumbilder (p. 197, l. 210).

⁴ Assyr. *elî dûr appiça illakâ dîmâ'a* (KAT.² 63, 15).

⁵ Cf. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. I (Leipzig, 1889), p. 102.

Now what is the meaning of this first line *ša naqba emuru* []-*di-ma-a-ti*? Jensen translates: *who saw everything . . . of the land*. It is true that we have in Assyrian a word *naqbu* or *nagpu* (with נ) which means *totality, all*; but it is never used without a following genitive or a possessive suffix. *Who saw everything* would be *ša kalāma emuru*. *Naqbu* in this connection must be the stem נקב, and *naqbu*, with ק, means *depth*, especially the *interior of the earth* which was imagined as a high mountain filled with water and floating on the universal sea, the *apsū* (like a gas-tank).¹ The *naqbu*² corresponds to the *fountains of the great deep* in the Biblical account of the Flood (Gen. 7, 11: נִבְקְעוּ כָּל-מַעְיֵנוֹת תְּהוֹם). In the beginning of Psalm 24 we read that JHWH has founded the earth on the seas and established it on the floods (כִּי הוּא עַל-יַמִּים יְסָדָהּ || וְעַל-נְהַרֹת (יְכַנְנָה); *seas and floods* are amplicative plurals for the *great sea* and the *great flood*, just as *By the rivers of Babylon* in the beginning of Ps. 137 means *By the great river of Babylon*, i. e. the Euphrates;³ נְהַרֹת corresponds to the Assyrian *apsū* and יַמִּים to *naqbu*.

Now in l. 290 of the eleventh tablet of the Nimrod-Epic, containing the cuneiform account of the Deluge, we read that Gilgamesh descended to the subterranean ocean in order to obtain the plant of life. After Gilgamesh had been healed by the wife of his ancestor, Hasīs-atra,⁴ he boarded his ship with his ferryman; but when they were ready to sail, Hasīs-atra's wife said to her husband: Izdubar has come here undergoing all kinds of hardships,⁵ what wilt thou give him now that he is returning to his land? Thereupon Gilgamesh unstepped the mast⁶ and the ship

¹ See the plate representing *Die Welt nach babylonischer Vorstellung* in Jensen's *Kosmologie* (Strassburg, 1890).

² Cf. KB. 6, 284, 55.

³ Cf. Crit. Notes on Proverbs (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 34, l. 31.

⁴ Cf. for this name my remarks in Bulletin No. 18 of the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists (Rome, 1899), p. 11.

⁵ Assy. *illika, enaxa, išūta*. Jensen translates *hat gezogen*, but *šāfu* 'to drag' means also 'to proceed laboriously, to move on with effort' (German *sich schleppen*).

⁶ Assy. *išši parisa*. Jensen translates: *Hat er doch die (Schiffs)stange erhoben*; but he would probably experience some difficulty in pushing a boat across the ocean with a pole. Even a setting pole of 60 cubits or 105 feet (KB. 6, 221, 41, 45) might not answer the purpose. *Parisu* (cf.

was brought near the shore. Then Hasís-atra said to Gilgamesh: What shall I give thee now that thou art returning to thy land? I will disclose to thee a secret matter and the mystery of the gods will I reveal to thee. There is a plant like the buck-thorn, its stem is like the dagger-vine. If thy hands obtain this plant, thou wilt live for ever.

When Gilgamesh heard this, he opened the well, attached heavy stones to his belt, so that they dragged him down to the bottom of the sea. He took the plant of life, cut off the heavy stones from his belt, and came up again from the *naqbu*, the interior of the earth.

Now the first line of the epic evidently refers to Gilgamesh's descent to the subterranean ocean in quest of the plant of life. I would, therefore, read: *Ša naqba emuru išdi māti*, i. e. *Who saw the great deep, the bottom of the earth.*

Before Gilgamesh reached the abode of his ancestor Hasís-atra he had to cross the *me māti*, the Waters of Death, as described in the tenth tablet of the epic.¹ We expect a reference to this unique adventure in the beginning of the epic. I would, therefore, read the second line: [*ša me māti*] *īdā kála mánaxti* 'who saw the waters of death, undergoing all kinds of hardships'; and in the third line *ikšud-ma mītaxariš šam nibitti*² 'he obtained at the same time the plant of promise.' The verbal form in the third line has no overlapping vowel like the verbal forms in the first two lines; consequently the apodosis begins in the third line.

I would, therefore, restore the beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic as follows:—He who saw the great deep, the bottom of the earth, who beheld the waters of death, undergoing all kinds of hardships: he obtained at the same time the plant of promise, the primal³ knowledge of everything; he found the

l. 65 of the Account of the Deluge) must mean *mast*. For the Babylonian cubit, see Notes on the English translation of Ezekiel (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 180, l. 23; cf. Crit. Notes on Numbers, p. 66, l. 2. According to Peiser in his *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (Feb., 1901), col. 64, the GAR was equal to 14 cubits, so that Jensen's setting pole (or *Ruderstange*) would have a length of 122½ feet.

¹ Cf. KB. 6, 216, 25; 220, 50.

² Cf. KB. 6, 250, l. 295; contrast Delitzsch's *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, p. 446, a. *Nibittu*, however, might also be a special word for *spring*=*namba'u*, from נבע (cf. *qibittu* from קבע, *sibitti* 'seven,' *erbitti* 'four,' etc.).

³ Jensen reads *kutum* instead of *qudum*; cf. קדם Prov. 8, 22.

secret, he revealed the mystery, he brought the account from the time before the flood, he made the long journey¹ undergoing all kinds of hardships, and wrote on a tablet all his adventures. He built the wall of Erech the well-walled, and Eanna (the temple of Istar in Erech) the sacred and holy abode. The following line is mutilated; the only words preserved are *-šu ša kima qe* 'his . . . which [shines] like brass.' Then we should, perhaps, read *iltanassa šiptašu ša lá umaššaru* 'he pronounced his charm which cannot be broken,'² . . . the slab which from days of old . . .³

If the text were not so fragmentary it would be perfectly plain. At any rate, it seems to me certain that the first lines contain particular references to Gilgamesh's wondrous adventures, his descent to the great deep, his crossing of the waters of death, and the obtaining of the plant of life, not vague generalities as in Jensen's translation.⁴ The first line after which the entire series is called *ša naqba emuru [iš]di máti* must no doubt be translated, not *who saw everything . . . of the land*, but *whō saw the great deep, the bottom of the earth.*

¹ Cf. KB. 6, 204, 19; 210, 9; 218, 5.

² Cf. KB. 6, 266, 6.

³ The Assyrian text may be restored as follows:—*ša naqba emuru | [iš]di máti || [ša me máti] idú | kála [mánaxti || ikšu]d-ma mítwariš | [šám nibitti || qu]dum níméqi | ša kalâmi [exuz || ni]çirta emur-ma | ka-timta [ipti] || úbla řema | ša lam abúbi || urxa rúqta illikána | ániw [šá'it || ukín] ina nari | kálu mánaç[tišu || ušepiš?] dár | ša Uruk su[pári || E-an]-na qudduši | šunumni[ellim || . . .]našu | ša kima qe [. . . || . . .]iltanassa šiptašu | ša lá umaššaru [. . . || . . .] askup-patu | ša ultu ú[me . . . || etc.*

⁴ The best renderings in Jensen's work are undoubtedly those derived from Delitzsch's *Assyr. Handwörterbuch.*

*The Names of the Hebrew Vowels.*¹—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

IN a footnote of my paper on the semi-vowel *u* in Assyrian, published fourteen years ago in the second volume of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*,² I remarked that the references in § 6 of Gesenius-Kautsch's Hebrew Grammar to the phonetic works of Brücke, Merkel, Sievers, Sweet, Techmer, Vietor, Trautmann, etc., seemed to figure merely as a traditional ornament, and that a short talk of fifteen minutes with Sievers would undoubtedly induce the distinguished editor of Gesenius' work to undertake a radical transformation of that paragraph. I found it necessary to point out to such eminent Semitic scholars as Professor Nöldeke, of Strassburg, and the late Professor Paul de Lagarde, of Göttingen, that the English *th* was neither an *aspirata* nor an *affricata* but a *spirans*, adding that Indo-European scholars who happened to see those remarks would perhaps be surprised that I deemed it necessary to discuss the elements of phonetics.³ I also called attention⁴ to the fact that we found an exact analogy to the *spiration* of Hebrew postvocalic *b, g, d, p, k, t* in Celtic; but Semitic scholars do not seem to pay any attention to phonetics.⁵ In the Oxford translation of the latest edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar,⁶ the modification of postvocalic כּתּוּב is still

¹ Read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in New York, April, 1901.

² Leipzig, 1887, p. 263, n. 2.

³ Cf. the remarks at the end of note 3 on p. 20 of my *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879).

⁴ See my paper *On the pronunciation of tr in Old Persian* in *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 59 (August, 1887), p. 117^b; C. F. Lehmann, *Šamašsumukīn*, part 2 (Leipzig, 1892), p. 103^a s. v. Cf. also Lagarde's *Mittheilungen* 2, 45 (Göttingen, 1887).

⁵ In the first edition (Leipzig, 1880) of his excellent *Syrische Grammatik*, Nöldeke called the change of postvocalic *b* to *v, p* to *f*, etc., *affrication*; in the second edition (Leipzig, 1898) he uses the term *assibilation*.

⁶ Oxford, 1898, § 21; so, too, in the German original (Leipzig, 1896). Contrast Brockelmann's *Syrische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1899), § 42.

termed *The Aspiration of the Tenués*; but *b, g, d,* are no *tenués*, and all six consonants are pronounced as spirants after a preceding vowel, not as aspirates.

Nor have Semitic scholars, as a rule, taken the trouble to study my treatise on the Semitic sounds and their transliteration, published eleven years ago in the first part of the Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Philology.¹ There are, however, a few notable exceptions. The distinguished Egyptologist of the University of Leipzig and editor of Bædeker's *Egypt*, Professor Steindorff, one of my first students in the University of Göttingen, has evidently studied my phonetic researches for the phonology of his Coptic Grammar;² and the well-known Arabist, Count Landberg (two of whose magnificent collections, comprising 2,000 valuable Arabic (Persian and Turkish) manuscripts, have recently been presented to Yale and Princeton) told me, at the last Oriental Congress, held in Rome in 1899, that he had found my phonetic researches very helpful for his studies in Arabic dialectology; and a few days ago Professor Eduard Sievers, of Leipzig, sent me the first part of his elaborate work on Hebrew Metrics,³ which will have a most wholesome effect on the current ideas of Hebrew poetry. He states there in his phonological introduction (p. 14, n. 1) that he agrees on all essential points with my views concerning the Semitic consonants. Sievers' treatise on Hebrew meters, which is a wonderful piece of work in view of the fact that he is not a Hebraist but a Germanic scholar (although he had the assistance of some distinguished Semitists like Socin, Kautsch, and Buhl), will probably give a new impetus to phonetic studies among Semitic scholars,⁴ and I hope the next edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, which will be issued in the course of this year, will eliminate several time-honored errors in the domain of Semitic phonetics.

¹ *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. 1, part 1 (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 249-267.

² *Koptische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1894).

³ *Metrische Studien I. Studien zur hebräischen Metrik* in vol. 21 of the *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1901).

⁴ The only Semitic grammar in which we find a phonology based on the principles of modern phonetics is Brockelmann's *Syrische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1899).

A characteristic illustration of phonetic ignorance is the traditional rendering of the names of the Hebrew vowels. The Hebrew names are quite appropriate and show that the old Hebrew grammarians knew a good deal more about phonetics than the average modern Hebraists; but the traditional rendering of the Hebrew terms is in some cases simply preposterous. The *i*-vowel is called by the Hebrew grammarians חִירֶק; this stem is invariably translated *gnashing*,¹ as though you could produce an *i*-vowel by gnashing the teeth! It is true that the Hebrew verb חרק means *to gnash the teeth* in five passages of the Old Testament, but the initial guttural may correspond not only to the Arabic ح (cf. حرق نابه) but also to the Arabic خ, and خرق means *to rend*, and the noun خرق *xarq* denotes *rent, fissure, narrow opening*; خرق الفم *xarq el-fami* is the *narrow opening of the mouth, narrow lip-aperture or lip-spreading* (by spreading out the corners of the mouth)—a very appropriate name for the vowel *i*. All the phonetic names of the Hebrew vowels refer to the lip-positions, not the tongue-positions.

In the same way the vowel *e* is called צִרִי which corresponds to the Syriac ܦܢܐ *breach, fissure, rent, narrow opening*, from the stem ܦܘܪܐ *to rend, to break, to split*; but instead of rendering צִרִי by *narrow opening*, Hebrew grammarians generally give the vague translation *division, parting* (of the mouth)² as though the other vowels could be formed without parting the mouth. The other name of the *e*-vowel שְׁבֵר and the Arabic name كسر *kasr* have the same meaning; they do not mean *breaking*,³ as is gen-

¹ Cf. § 8, d of the Oxford translation of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar; in the 26th edition of the German original: *Knirschung*; so, too, Stade, in his *Lehrbuch der hebr. Gramm.* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 40 (§ 35, a). König in his *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1881), p. 44, gives *Knirschen, Kreischen*, following Gesenius' *Lehrgebäude* (Leipzig, 1817), p. 38.

² So in the Oxford translation of Gesenius' grammar; in the German original: *Spaltung, Riss (des Mundes)*. This would be an appropriate name for *harelip* (German *Hasenscharte*) but not for the vowel *e*. Stade, § 35, a: צִרִי *oder auch שְׁבֵר vom Spalten oder Aufreißen des Mundes*; König, § 9, 5: *Zerreissung*.

³ Kautzsch: *Brechung*, a grammatical term introduced by Jacob Grimm for the vocalic assimilation produced by an *a*-vowel in the preceding syllable, e. g. *helfam* for *hilfam* and *gahotfan* for *gahulfan*.

erally translated, but *breach, narrow opening*, referring to the lip-spreading characteristic of the *i* and *e* vowels.

The wider opening of the mouth in the case of the vowel *a* is termed פֶּתַח, which could not be misunderstood; also in Arabic and Syriac it is called فَتْح *fath* and فَتْحًا *opening*, respectively. The long *a*-vowel, however, is called קְמִיץ *contraction* (of the corners of the mouth), because it was pronounced not as a pure *ā* as in *father*, but as a Swedish *å* (Danish *aa*)¹ or our English *aw* in *awl, all*, etc.

In the same way the *o*-vowel is called חוּלָם which describes the medium lip-narrowing in the pronunciation of the *o*-vowel; the verb חָלַם is used in post-Biblical Hebrew of the mending of skins (עוֹר חָלִים) which were occasionally repaired by *binding them up*, as it is called in the Judaic story of the stratagem of the Gibeonites in Josh. 9, 4, where the *Polychrome Bible* adds the explanation that the edges of a rent were tied around with a string. Wine-skins are mended in the East by being bound up in this way, or patched, or even by covering the holes with round, flat pieces of wood. The Hebrew term used in the Book of Joshua is מְצַרְרִים. The term חוּלָם was probably preferred to a derivative of the stem צָרַר in order to avoid confusion with the name צָרִי; besides, a derivative of צָרַר would have been ambiguous, as there are several homonym stems in Hebrew owing to the threefold character of the Hebrew צ; which represents not only an Arabic ص, but also ض and ظ.²

The names for the *u*-vowel, שׁוּרֶק and קְבוּץ have practically the same meaning; they both denote the close lip-narrowing where the lips are contracted to a narrow chink; the only difference between חוּלָם and שׁוּרֶק, קְבוּץ is that חוּלָם denotes a less close lip-narrowing: קְבוּץ denotes the *slight lip-narrowing* where only the corners of the mouth are contracted, חוּלָם is the *medium lip-narrowing*, with a wider and broader opening than in the case of קְבוּץ, while קְבוּץ and שׁוּרֶק represent the *close lip-narrowing* where the lips are brought so close together that the mouth is almost

¹ The Swedish *å* is used now also in Danish instead of *aa*.

² Cf. Appendix III in Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*³ (Oxford, 1892), pp. 222 ff.: Haupt, *Beiträge zur assyr. Lautlehre* (Göttingen, 1883), pp. 92-97.

closed.¹ In Arabic the *u*-sound is called **ضم** from **ضم** *to put the ends together*, evidently referring to the *rounding* of the lips. It is, of course, wrong to render the Hebrew name for *û*, **שׁוּרְק** by *whistling* (*συρισμός*); the vowel *û* is no whistling, just as the *i*-vowel is not produced by gnashing the teeth, but the rounding of the lips in whistling is about the same as in the formation of the vowel *u*. The other name of the *o*-vowel **מְלֵא פִּי** *fullness of the mouth* refers to the greater size of the resonance-chamber which is characteristic of the vowel *o* in distinction from the vowel *u*. In the same way the **ضم** is sometimes called in Arabic **قَبو** *qáby* (cf. Heb. **קְבָה** *abdominal cavity, stomach, etc.*) *cavity*.

All these Hebrew names appropriately describe the lip-positions of the several vowels, while the other name of the *u*-vowel, **שְׁלֹשׁ נְקוּדוֹת** *three points* describes the form of the vowel-sign **וְ**. In the same way the *Umlaut* of *a, ä* (**פְּתַח קְטוּן**) is called **סְגוּל** *bunch of grapes*, because the vowel-sign for it consists of three dots **וְ** resembling a bunch of grapes.

Several of the names of the Hebrew vowels (except **קְבוּץ**, **סְגוּל**, **שְׁבַר**, **פִּי**, and **שְׁלֹשׁ נְקוּדוֹת**) have an artificial vocalization in order to have the corresponding vowel-sound in the first syllable (or in both) of the name. The regular form for **פְּתַח** would be **פְּתַח**, and the original forms of **צְרִי**, **חִירָק**, **שְׂרָק**, **חֶלֶם**, **שׁוּרְק**, **חֶלֶם**, **קְמִץ** may have been **צְרִי**, **חֶרָק**, **חֶלֶם**, **שְׂרָק**, **קְמִץ**. In the same way the name for the neutral vowel or *murmelvocal* is pronounced *Shěvâ*, but the original form may have been **שְׁבַח** *chip*. This name has been fully discussed² by one of my former students, Professor Casper Levias, of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

Lagarde's³ idea that the names **פְּתַח** and **קְמִץ** should be pronounced as Aramaic participles, viz. **פְּתַח**, **קְמִץ**, is untenable. In a special paper I shall discuss the names of the vowels in Syriac.

¹ Cf. Henry Sweet, *A Primer of Phonetics* (Oxford, 1890), p. 6.

² In vol. 16 of the *American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore, 1895), pp. 28-37; cf. especially p. 34, n. 5.

³ Cf. Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, 2, 175 (Göttingen, 1887).

The Marburg Collection of Cypriote Antiquities.—By
CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, Professor in Johns Hopkins Uni-
versity, Baltimore, Md.

THROUGH the liberality of Mr. Theodore Marburg, of Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins University has recently come into possession of the valuable and interesting collection of Cypriote antiquities acquired by Mr. Marburg from Col. Falkland Warren, C.M.G., who filled the office of Chief Secretary to the Government of Cyprus from 1879 to 1891. Col. Warren, whose papers on Cyprian coins are well known to numismatists, during his long residence in Cyprus devoted much attention to the study of archæology and was an ardent collector of archæological objects. For this his official position gave him exceptional advantages.

The objects comprising the collection which, through the generous gift of Mr. Marburg, is now the property of the Johns Hopkins University, were in part found by Col. Warren himself in the course of excavations carried on under his supervision, in part purchased by him from the peasants who found them. The objects purchased, as he states in a letter to Mr. Marburg, were specially selected from a large number brought to him at various times. The collection, which numbers 122 separate pieces, contains 49 ornaments of gold, 13 seal-cylinders, 20 engraved gems and seals, and 40 scarabs and other small objects. Babylonian, Phœnician, Egyptian, and Greek art are all represented by characteristic examples, and the period of time covered would seem to be from about 800 to 150 B. C. Earrings seem to have possessed a special attraction for the ladies of ancient Cyprus, and the very large number of these ornaments found has been remarked by all writers on Cyprian archæology.

Of the 49 gold ornaments in the Marburg collection no less than 42 are earrings or parts of earrings. The most usual pattern is the circle terminating in the head of a lion, a lynx, an ibex, or a bull, the eyes of the animal being usually represented by tiny gems set in the gold socket. The workmanship is remarkably fine. Some earrings consist of a simple crescentic ring without ornamental addition; many, of all designs, have pendants attached; and a few have jeweled settings. A particularly

attractive design, which Col. Warren characterizes as Etruscan, consists of a disc formed of concentric beaded rings, and shaped like a shield with central boss. Three finely wrought pendants give a graceful effect to the whole.

There are seven gold finger rings, four of which are set with engraved gems. One of them has a carnelian setting in which an Athene is beautifully cut.

Of the 13 seal-cylinders, 6 have cuneiform inscriptions of the archaic type, and all are engraved with mythological subjects deeply incised. A scarab of black hematite and a seal of the same material contain brief inscriptions in Cypriote characters. Many of the remaining seals are finely engraved and afford interesting examples of the gem cutter's art. A fine intaglio, cut in red sard, contains a beautifully executed head of Alexander the Great, which Col. Warren believes to have been a contemporary portrait. A very interesting cameo contains three heads concentrically arranged—Alexander, the Olympian Zeus, and the Egyptian god Amon.

The gem of the whole collection is unquestionably the beautiful intaglio on which is depicted the goddess Athene overcoming a Titan. The goddess, fully armed, holds in one hand a long spear, while with the other she turns the Gorgon shield towards her opponent. The Titan, of human form from the waist upward while his lower extremities are formed by two scaly serpents, is sinking back in consternation, his arms uplifted as though to ward off the terrible sight. All the details are marvelously executed, and the effect of the whole as seen by transmitted light is exquisite. It is cut in an oval of pale yellow sard measuring 2.3 by 1.5 inches.

I have not been able to make a careful study of this interesting collection, but hope to do so and to report upon it more fully in the future.

*The Fall of Nineveh.*¹—By CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, Professor
in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

AT the death of King Ashurbanipal, in 626 B. C., the Assyrian empire still extended from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. But to the West, Syria, disorganized by the Scythian and Kimmerian invasion, was ready to fall a prey to Egypt at the first favorable opportunity. To the North the Scythians held full sway and, though for the time being friendly to Assyria, were too powerful to be altogether comfortable neighbors. To the East, the Medes, enemies both of Assyria and of the Scythians, were pressing westward to the frontier of Assyria and southward into Elam, which had been devastated by Ashurbanipal and left defenseless. In the South, the Chaldean Nabopolassar promptly took advantage of the death of the Assyrian monarch to make himself king of Babylon, though at first his rule did not extend beyond the ancient city and the district immediately adjacent.

Ashurbanipal was succeeded by his son Ashur-etil-ilâni, of whose reign little is known. Dated contract tablets show that he ruled both in Assyria and in Babylonia until at least the year 622. He probably died soon after this date. His successor, and the last king of Assyria, was his brother Sin-shar-ishkun, the Sarcus of classical writers. Fragments of his inscriptions have been found referring to wars in which the Assyrian arms were successful. These inscriptions seem to date from the earlier part of his reign, and it is probable that his adversaries were the Medes. Two contract tablets are dated at Sippara in the second year of this king, and one is dated at Erech in his seventh year, so that he could claim sovereignty in Babylonia down to the year 615 or later.

Between this date and 611 B. C. there must have been a change in the situation, since a contract tablet dated at Sippara in the fifteenth year of Nabopolassar indicates that the Chaldean king of Babylon then had possession of northern Babylonia. The inscriptions of Nabopolassar refer to wars in which the aid of the gods brought him success, and in one of them he claims

¹ Abstract of a paper read before the American Oriental Society, April 12, 1901. The paper will be published entire elsewhere.

the conquest of the Mesopotamian district of Subaru. From this it would appear that he had not only made himself master of a considerable portion, if not the whole, of Babylonia, but had overrun some of the most important provinces of the Assyrian empire. This rapid extension of the dominions of Nabopolassar argues weakness on the part of Assyria, and may well have coincided with the events described in Herodotus I, 103-106.

According to the Greek historian, the Medes, under their King Cyaxares, invaded Assyria and had actually invested Nineveh when the siege was raised by an army commanded by the Scythian king Madyes, son of Protothyas. There seems to be no good reason for doubting this statement, and the relief of Nineveh, which probably occurred in the year 610, left the Assyrian king Sin-shar-ishkun free to carry on a vigorous campaign against Nabopolassar, who, deprived of Median aid and opposed by some of the Babylonian cities, now found himself in a most dangerous predicament. He was saved by the Medes, who, having in the mean time signally defeated their Scythian opponents, now returned to the attack, and Nineveh was once more besieged. But the complete investment of the great city was by no means easy to accomplish. The Tigris ran close by her walls, and strong fortifications along the river connected her with the strong cities of Asshur and Kelach. The western bank of the Tigris gave communication with Mesopotamia, whence both supplies and troops could be drawn, and so long as this important district held out for Assyria the reduction of the capital was well nigh hopeless.

It was necessary, therefore, that the country to the west of the Tigris should be rendered useless both as a source of supplies and as a base of military operations. This seems to have been effected by dispatching strong detachments to thoroughly ravage the country, destroy all opposing forces, and render harmless the frontier cities of Babylonia which sided with Sin-shar-ishkun. Their object accomplished, the Median detachments could re-join their main body, leaving to Nabopolassar the easy task of holding the devastated district in subjection.

When the Medes, after reducing Assyria, proceeded to dispossess their Scythian neighbors and to extend their dominions in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia was left to Nabopolassar and the wily Chaldean thus enjoyed the fruits of a vicarious victory. Nineveh was now cut off from outside aid, but behind her strong fortifica-

tions her garrison could still offer a stubborn resistance. When at length the Medes prevailed and the city fell, all was not yet lost. Kelach was little inferior to Nineveh in strength, and thither Sin-shar-ishkun fell back to make a new stand. But fate was against him. An unusual rise of the Tigris undermined the wall, and the city, now at the mercy of the besiegers, was sacked and burnt.

According to tradition, the siege of Nineveh lasted for two years, and this, if it be taken to include the whole course of events down to the fall of Kelach, is doubtless correct. As the Median attack, according to data derived from cuneiform sources, began in the year 608, it was in 606 B. C. that the reign of Sin-shar-ishkun came to an end together with the last remnants of the monarchy he represented.

Note on two Assyrian words hitherto unexplained.—By
CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, Professor in Johns Hopkins Uni-
versity, Baltimore, Md.

(1) *da'álu*.

THE word *da'álu* is explained in none of the Assyrian dictionaries. Delitzsch (*Handw.*, p. 215) defines it as 'a name of occupation' (*ein Berufsname*); Meissner (*Supplement*, p. 30) as 'an official' (*ein Beamter*); while Muss-Arnolt (*Concise Dictionary*, p. 247) gives no definition at all. *da'álu*, which occurs in five passages in Harper's *Letters*, seems to mean 'scout' or 'spy.'

In the letter K. 760 (=H. 424) Iskhur-Bel writes to the king (obv. 6-9): *ina muxxi tēmi ša māt Urartā am.da'ále assápar; itáru kē annē iqtebi'áni* "I sent out scouts for information about Urartu. They have returned and report as follows." He then proceeds to quote the report of the *da'ále*, which contains precisely the sort of information likely to be furnished to a military commander by his intelligence department.

K. 645 (=H. 444) is a letter to the king from an official whose name is obliterated. He writes (rev. 3-9): *ša šarru belī išpuráni má am.da'ále šupur; ana II-šu assápar; issenúte ittalkáni díbbe annúte iqtebáni; issenúte udína lá úgúni*, "My lord the king writes 'Send out scouts.' I have sent twice. Some have come in and make this report; others have not yet set forth." *issenúte* (*i-si-nu-te*) stands, of course, for *ištenúte*, the plural of *išten* 'one,' with the well known assimilation as in *assápar* for *aštápar*, etc. (Del., *Gram.* § 51, 2), and this is the only passage known to me in which the form occurs.

In the letter K. 1907 (=H. 148) Ašur-reḡá'a writes to the king (obv. 3-4) in similar terms: *ša šarru belī išpuráni má am.da'áleka (da-a-a-li-ka) ál Turušpá šupur* "My lord the king writes to me 'Send your scouts to (?) Turušpa.'" The remainder is broken away.

¹ [Cf. R. Campbell Thompson's review of R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters in the American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol. xvii, No. 3 (April, 1901), p. 163, n. 1.—P. H.]

In K. 1021 (=H. 309) Bel-emurani writes (obv. 4-8): *ina muaxi lišāni ša šarru bel išpurāni assapra am.da'āle. Udīni lā illakāni; ina pānšunu adāgal*, "In regard to my lord the king's message about the *lišānu*, I have dispatched scouts. They have not yet come in. I am waiting for them." What *lišānu* means here is not quite clear.

In K. 80 (=H. 52), Nabû-nadin-šum writes that, in consequence of orders received, he went after *takpirtu* (whatever that may mean); that he set out from Nineveh and proceeded as far as the town of Sasiqani. The letter concludes (rev. 2-10): *ṭēmu ana am.da'āle ša ištu Ninu'a issiia uḡāni u ana am.da'āle ša Kalxa assákanšunu, muk: tubbalá ina libbi á. Kasappa tušáliká*, "I gave orders to the scouts that went with me from Nineveh and to those from Kelach 'Bring along (what you find?) to the town of Kasappa'" (cf. Del. *Wörterb.*, p. 472). As the meaning of *takpirtu*, upon which the whole context depends, is unknown (cf. Delitzsch's *Handb.*, p. 348^a), this passage is somewhat obscure. It would seem, however, that the *da'āle* were dispatched in various directions with orders to search out and bring in certain matters to a common rendezvous.

In the first two passages cited it seems clear that the *da'āle* were scouts or spies sent out to obtain information. In the three remaining passages, while the context is of too general a nature to be altogether decisive, the same meaning suits very well. This is further borne out by the *nisbeh* form in IV R 50, 3^a, where the witch is termed *da'álitum ša bīrēti, xa'áṭitum ša rebāti*, "She who goes spying through the streets and prying through the market places."

The verb *dāhu*, from which *da'áhu* is derived, means 'to be in motion, to go about, go around,' and, as pointed out by Talquist (*Spr. der Contr. Nabuna'idis*), is to be compared to Syr. ܕܠܗ, Ar. *دال* (*دال الزمان*, etc.) which have about the same meaning. *Dullu* (i. e. *dālu*) 'occupation, work,' is properly the inf. piel of the same stem (Talquist, o. c., p. 64; Meissner-Rost, *Bavinschr. Sanh.*, p. 107, n. 21). It is also to be noted that, in V R. 29, 34. 35g, *da'álu* occurs as a synonym of *dalpu*, a derivative of *dalāpu* 'to march, go' (Ar. *دلف*). As regards the development of meaning therefore, *da'áhu* presents a close analogy to

^a Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*⁴, p. 173^b.

Heb. מרגלים 'scouts, spies,' the piel participle of the denominative verb רגל 'to go about.'

(2) *ulá.*

In Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* (p. 33) this word is tentatively compared to Heb. אולי and defined as meaning 'perhaps,' an interrogation point being placed after both etymology and definition. Delitzsch's *Wörterbuch* (p. 225), his *Assyrian Grammar* (§ 82), and Muss-Arnolt's *Concise Dictionary* (p. 40) contain the same explanation, as does also Delitzsch's note in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. ii, p. 40.

ulá occurs quite frequently in the letter texts and means 'or, or else' (𐎶 + 𐎶). In K. 1242 (=H. 50) the priest Ággullánu writes to the king in reference to sacrifices to be offered, and says (rev. 8-11): *allaka azzaza ina pán niqê, ulá annaka anáku. Mínu ša šarru iqábúni šarru béli iqábú'u*, "Shall I go and be present at the sacrifices or (shall) I (remain) here. Let the king my lord say what he thinks (hest)."

The letter K. 650 (=H. 128) is from Mannu-ki-Ninua to the king. In the reverse (6-10) he writes: *šumma nišê ussebila, ina muxxi šarri bel'a usšabalášunu, ulá míni šitíni ana šarri bel'a ašápara*, "If he sends these people, I will forward them to my lord the king, or else I will send the king full particulars (regarding them)."

In K. 653 (=H. 154) Zer-ibnî, indignant at the aspersions of a certain Marduk-erba, writes to the king (obv. 6-11): *šumma Marduk-erba siparra parzilli assákan, siparri parzilli-šu lipturá ina šepê'a liškuná; ulá ša ana šarri bel'ia isláni lišánšu ištu xarurtišu lišdudáni*, "If I have put Marduk-erba in fetters, let them take off his fetters and put them upon my feet; or else let them tear from his throat his tongue which has thus lied to my lord the king." The meaning of *siparru* would seem to be clear from the context. The word is doubtless to be derived from the same stem with *saparru* 'net,' *supáru* 'enclosure' (Del. *Handw.*, p. 509). Harper restores *li-[iš]-tu-ru* in line 8, but the context seems to demand *li-[ip]-tu-ru*.

K. 619 (=H. 174) is a letter from Marduk-šarra-uçur to the king. The writer reports that Ašpabari, king of Ellip, has had a dispute with certain individuals and tells them (obv. 13-16): *ikkaná; alánikunu pegá. šumma qarába tuppáš, epšá; ulá rammí'a*, "It is all settled; your cities are taken away. If you

want to make war, do so; or else let it alone." I have already treated this passage in vol. xx of this Journal.

In the letter 83-1-18, 41 (=H. 375) Nabû-šum-iddina writes to the king about horses. In the reverse (2-12) he says: *sīsē . . . ša ūmu anni'u ina pān šarri beliḡa irrabāni izzazū ina libbi ekal maxirti, ūlā ūḡū. šarru belu tēmu liškun šumma ūḡū šumma bizzizū*, "Are the horses which come to the king to-day to stay in the outer palace, or do they go on? Let my lord the king give orders as to whether they are to go or to remain." This example is especially clear as *ūlā* occurs here in parallelism with *šumma*, 'if, whether.'

Other passages might be cited but these will probably suffice. *Ūlā* may be explained as a compound of *ū* 'or' and *lā* 'not.' In Num. 22, 33 לְאִלֵּי, which is a compound of לֵא and לֹא, means (like *ūlā*) 'and if not'; it is unnecessary to read לְאִלֵּי (LXX, καὶ εἰ μὴ); but it would perhaps be more correct to point this word לְאִלֵּי. Cf. also Hos. 8, 7.

The Polychrome Lion recently found in Babylon.—By Dr.
KARL J. GRIMM, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore,
Md.

ABOUT fifty miles south of Baghdād, in the neighborhood of the town of Hillah on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, are the ruins of the ancient city of Babylon, a series of extensive, irregularly shaped mounds, covering from north to south a distance of about five miles. The most prominent among these mounds are Bābīl, El-Kasr (القصر), and Tell-‘Amrān-ibn-‘Alī.

Since Claudius James Rich, resident of the English East India Company at Baghdād, published in 1812 his valuable memoir on the ruins of Babylon, in the *Wiener Fundgruben des Morgenlands*, these tells have been visited by travelers and explorers, among others by Sir Austen Henry Layard (1850), the French expedition under Fulgence Fresnel and Jules Oppert (1851–1854), Sir Henry Rawlinson, accompanied by William K. Loftus and J. E. Taylor (1849–1855), George Smith (1874), and Hormuzd Rassām (1878–1882). But it was not until two years ago, when, in January 1899, the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft* sent out an expedition under the direction of Dr. Robert Koldewey, of Gōrlitz, assisted by the Assyriologist, Dr. Meissner, of Halle, and ‘Regierungsbauführer’ Andrae, that a thorough and systematic exploration was begun. Since excavations were started, on March 26th, 1899, the persevering labors of the German explorers have been crowned with signal success. Among the most interesting finds may be mentioned a stele bearing in front the image of the Hittite storm-god, and on the back a Hittite inscription;¹ and a relief representing Šamaš-reš-uḡur, governor of the countries Sūkhū and Maer, in the act of worshiping the goddess Ištar and the god Adad.² At Kasr they have laid bare the famous *Street of Processions* called in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar

¹ Since published by Dr. Koldewey in the *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1900. Cf. L. Messerschmidt's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettitarum* in vol. 5 of the *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin, 1900), p. 3, Tafel ii.

² Cf. *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 3, pp. 6 f.; 12 ff.

II (604–561 B. C.) *á-ebur-šábú*¹ (May the enemy not prevail!), which ran along the outside of the king's palace, leading from Borsippa across the Euphrates to Babylon. On the Babylonian New Year's Day (*zagmuku*)—which feast Professor Zimmern connects with the Jewish Purim festival²—Nabû, the god of writing and patron of agriculture and science, was carried along this broad and handsomely paved street, in a magnificent ship, to pay a visit to his father Marduk, the chief of the Babylonian pantheon, the type of the sun and the symbol of spring.³ At Tell-'Amrân-ibn-Ali the German archæologists have identified the famous temple of Marduk, *Esagila* (the house whose summit towers on high), and cleared out several of its chambers.⁴

The following important landmarks of ancient Babylon are now fixed points: *E-maw* (the great house), the temple of the goddess Nin-max (the great Lady=Ištar), the goddess of fecundity and the mythical mother of Nebuchadnezzar;⁵ *Esagila*; *Ingur-Bel* (Bel has taken pity), the great wall of Babylon;⁶ and the *Street of Processions*. Inscriptions that have been found *in situ* place these identifications beyond question. To quote here only one of the inscriptions upon the stones of the pavement of the *Á-ebur-šábú*:

¹ *Nabû-kudurri-uçur šar TIN-TIR*^{ki}

² *mâr Nabû-apal-uçur šar TIN-TIR*^{ki} *anáku*.

³ *Sulá Bábili*^{ki} *ana šadâwa beli rabî Marduk*

⁴ *ina libitti aban šadî ubanná*

⁵ *tallakti Marduk bel balata*^m *dará*

⁶ *šurqam*

i. e. "Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, King of Babylon, am I. The street of Babylon I have built for

¹ Cf. Schrader's *Keilinschriftl. Bibliothek*, 3, 2, p. 21, col. v, l. 45, and Delitzsch's *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, pp. 9^b and 637^a.

² ZAT. 11, 160; contrast Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), p. 686, n. 2. See also Wildeboer's commentary on Esther (in Marti's *Hand-Commentar zum AT.*), p. 173. It might be well to state in this connection that Assyr. *puxru* was compared with Syr. ܫܘܪܘܐ eighteen years ago in Lyon's *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 64, n. on l. 31.

³ Cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 127, 679.

⁴ Cf. *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 5, 6f.; 6, 13.

⁵ Cf. *Mitth.*, 4, pp. 4f.

⁶ Cf. *Mitth.*, 4, pp. 12, 14; 6, p. 12.

the procession in honor of the great Lord, Marduk, with stones of the mountains. O Lord Marduk, grant eternal life.¹

But the unremitting labors of the German explorers have not only been fruitful for the elucidation of history and religion. Students of the history of art, likewise, owe a debt of gratitude to the indefatigable perseverance of Dr. Koldewey and Herr Andrae for their admirable reconstruction, from hundreds of fragments of glazed tiles, of the *Lion of Babylon*.

Babylonia is the fatherland of the enameled brick. In Assyrian palaces enameled bricks seem to have been sparingly used. They seem to have been placed chiefly upon doorways, and, in the form of rosettes, at the springing of the battlements.² The Babylonians, however, favored by the clayey earth of the Chaldean alluvium, were not satisfied with the making of enameled bricks, but developed a new branch of decorative art. Polychromatic figures and motives were modeled in relief upon the ground, thus distinguishing them by a gentle salience as well as by color, and, at the same time, increasing both their solidity and effect. In this manner the Babylonians made up for their lack of monumental works of sculpture which was due to the difficulty of obtaining suitable material.

The Greek historian and physician at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon (405-361 B. C.), Ctesias, who lived for a time at Babylon, thus describes the palace on the right bank of the Euphrates: In the interior of the first line of circumvallation Semiramis constructed another on a circular plan, upon which were all kinds of animals whose images were impressed on the brick while still unburnt. Nature is imitated in these figures by the use of colors.³

¹ Cf. *Mith.* 6, pp. 5 ff.

² Cf. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana*, London, 1857, p. 397, n.; Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chaldea and Assyria* (London, 1884), I, 282.

³ Καθ' ὃν ἐν ὤμαϊς ἐτι ταῖς πλίνθοις διετετύπωτο θηρία, παντοδαπὰ τῇ τῶν χρωμάτων φιλοτεχνία τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπομιμούμενα, *Diod.* ii. 8, 4. These words of Diodorus give us a false conception of the painted decoration. The artist did not intend to imitate the real colors of nature. "The lions and bulls of the friezes had, no doubt, their effect, but yet our intelligence receives some little shock in finding them deprived of their true colors, and presented to our eyes in a kind of travesty of their real selves. Things used as ornaments have no inalienable color of their own; the decorative artist is free to twist his lines and vary his tints as he pleases; his work will be judged by the result, and as long as that is harmonious and pleasing to the eye nothing more is required." Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, 2, pp. 296 f.

... The third wall, that in the middle, was twenty stadia round ... On its towers and their curtain-walls every sort of animal might be seen depicted according to all the rules of art, both as to form and color.¹ The whole represented a chase of various animals, these being more than four cubits high (i. e. about seven feet).² In the middle was Semiramis shooting an arrow at a panther, and, on one side, her husband Ninus at close quarters with a lion, which he transfixes with his lance." Diodorus Siculus, to whom we owe this description of Ctesias, attributes all these buildings to Semiramis, but it was the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II that Ctesias had before him.

During the years 1851-1854 the French expedition under Fulgence Fresnel and Jules Oppert collected on Tell Kasr, especially on its eastern side, a great many fragments of colored tiles. Yellow scales, separated from one another by black lines, reminded Oppert of the conventional figures by which the Assyrians represented hills, mountains, and forests. On others he saw blue undulations signifying water; on others, again, he found trees. Another class of enameled tiles represented figures of animals, the foot of a horse, and parts of a lion, especially the mane and the tail. A thick black line upon a blue ground may have been the lance of a hunter. Upon one fragment a human eye, looking full to the front, might be recognized.³ Unfortunately this interesting collection did not reach its destination. Together with the valuable antiquities collected by Victor Place, who had stripped the archway of the palace of Sargon in order to enrich his own country with the spoils of the great Assyrian king, it perished by accident in the floods of the Tigris (1855). At any rate, the description of Oppert confirms the narrative of Diodorus to which we have referred above.⁴ It must, however, be mentioned that Dr. Koldewey so far has seen nothing which could be regarded as representing mountains, trees, or water.⁵

¹ Ἐνῆσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς πύργοις καὶ τείχεσι ζῶα παντοδαπὰ φιλοτέχνητος τοῖς τε χρώμασι καὶ τοῖς τῶν τύπων ἀπομιμήμασι κατασκευασμένα, Diod. ii. 8, 6.

² See the Notes on Ezekiel in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 180. Professor Haupt has pointed out that the Table of Showbread was according to Ex. 25, 23, 2 cubits long, 1 cubit wide, and 1½ cubits high, and that, if the Hebrew cubit = 21 inches, 1½ cubits would be equal to 31½ inches, which is the normal height of a table. Cf. Crit. Notes on Numbers (in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 66, ll. 2 ff.

³ Oppert, *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie* (Paris, 1863), pp. 143 f.

⁴ Cf. also *Mitth.*, 2, p. 4.

⁵ Cf. *Mitth.*, 3, p. 5.

But when Nebuchadnezzar mentions in his inscriptions the pictures of wild bulls and gigantic serpents adorning the gates, he can only refer, it would seem, to such colored brick or tile-reliefs.

Nothing more definite, however, about this art, the technic employed, its effect upon the spectator, and the like, could hitherto be learned in Babylonia itself.

In Assyria the palace walls were covered with a colored facing, shown by fragments found among the ruins to have been painted stucco¹ and glazed tile. It consisted of bands of ornament, rows of rosettes and anthemias, woven strap-work, conventionalized mythical animals, and other forms in set regularity.² Animals, especially lions, are given in yellow upon a blue ground.³ The largest and most important of the fragments preserved, found by Layard at Nimrud,⁴ shows a king who, returning from battle or the hunt, is about to place to his lips a bowl handed to him by a servant [according to another view he offers a drink-offering]. The bow which he holds in his left hand rests upon the earth. Behind him follow two servants, a eunuch with bow, quiver, and sword, and a warrior in short dress, with lance and pointed helmet. The garments are outlined by a broad band of yellow, thus increasing the impression of flat stiffness peculiar to the Assyrian costumes of baggy cloth without folds. A dark yellow border separates the green dress from the red background and the brownish color of the exposed flesh. White intermingles with yellow in the rosettes, fringes, swords, etc. The hair, beard, pupils of the eyes, and the sandals are black. Other fragments, published by Layard, have a green background, yellow flesh, blue garments, blue fishes, etc, all drawn with a heavy white, or, in

¹ On Assyrian painting see Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, 2, pp. 292 ff.; compare also on Assyrian and Babylonian art, Woltmann-Woermann, *Gesch. d. Malerei*, 1 (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 22 ff.; Semper, *Der Stil*² (München, 1878), §§ 67, 69-71 (pp. 250 ff.: 302 ff.), and the respective chapters in Lübke's *Gesch. d. Plastik*, Schnaase's *Gesch. d. bildenden Künste*, Reber's *Kunstgesch. d. Alterthums*. Cf. also Reber's remarks in *ZA.*, 1, 157-160; 295-303.

² Cf. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh* (London, 1849), first series, pl. 80.

³ Cf. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie* (Paris, 1866-1869), plates 29, 30, 31. Of all the animal forms, that of the lion seems to have been the first to yield material for decorative composition of any value, and even at the present day the lion has not lost its popularity in the East. Cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, 1, 262.

⁴ Cf. Layard, *Monuments*, second series, pl. 55.

rare instances, brown outline. In some of the bas-reliefs found by Botta at Khorsabâd¹ red and blue alternate in the sandals of the figures, and in the harness of the horses. We find also a red bow and a blue quiver.²

But it was at Susa, the residence of the Achæmenians, that the whole splendor of this art was revealed, when Dieulafoy unearthed the famous lion-frieze which decorated the crowning of the propylæa (called *Apadâna*)³ rising in front of the palace of Darius and Xerxes.⁴ We see here, surrounded by palmettos, marguerites and similar motives, nine walking lions. "The powerful head, the thickness of the mane, the salience of the shoulder-blades and the principal muscles, every detail is distinctly marked by bold modeling, and this is further emphasized by contrast of color." These finds of Dieulafoy, more or less restored, have, since 1891, found their place in the Louvre at Paris. A fine reproduction of part of the frieze may be seen in the Metropolitan Museum at New York.⁵

Did the art of the Babylonian artists surpass that of their pupils, the Persians? And, if so, in what measure? To these questions the *Lion of Babylon* gives us the answer.⁶ Completely and exclusively restored from head to tail from the genuine pieces,⁷ it teaches indisputably that the artists of Nebuchadnezzar, at least as far as the representation of the lion is concerned, were true masters of their art. If on the Susian lion-frieze the head and the front of the lion appear too small, this cannot be

¹ Cf. Botta, *Monument de Ninive* (Paris, 1847-1850), plates 12. 14. 43. 53. 61. 62. 63. 65. 74. 76. 81. 110. 111. 113. 114. 146. 155. 156.

² On Assyrian polychromy see Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, 2, 243 ff.; and on the chemical composition of the various colors employed, *ibid.*, pp. 294 ff.; cf. Reber's remarks in *ZA.*, I, 297-299.

³ Cf. Bezold, *Die Achâmeniden-Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 44, No. xvii, l. 8; Weissbach, *Die Achâmeniden-Inschriften zweiter Art* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 84, No. iv.

⁴ Cf. Dieulafoy, *A Suse. Journal des Fouilles* (Paris, 1884-1886), pp. 132, 133.

⁵ Cf. also Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Ancient Persia* (1892), p. 420 f.

⁶ The following description is based upon an exact polychrome reproduction of the lion by Herr Andrae, published by the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*, and reproduced in the *American Magazine Supplement to the New York Journal and Advertiser*, Sunday, April 21, 1901, p. 9.

⁷ Cf. *Mitth.*, 3, p. 11. and the description of the lion-frieze by Prof. Delitzsch, *Mitth.* 6, pp. 13 ff.

said of the lion of Babylon. The hair of the mane and the tuft of the tail are executed, it is true, in a conventional manner, but in all other respects the animal is conceived with unusual life and naturalness. With this strong feeling for reality we find combined perfection of form. The naturalness of the work and its uniform execution give evidence of an intellectual and clear mind, and call forth a lively interest, both for the manner in which the artist extricated himself from the ban of conventional laws and for the ingenuity with which he accommodated himself to them.

The lion, as reconstructed by Koldewey and Andrae, is portrayed in its natural size, 1.95m. from the end of the forepaw to the end of the tail, and 90cm. from the top of the head to the sole of the forepaw. It is marching to the left. The bushy mane and the tuft of the tail are colored in a lustrous yellow, the locks being separated from one another by black lines; the smooth parts of the skin—back, head, legs, and tail—are white; tongue and eye yellow; eyelids and pupil black. The background is turquoise-blue. White rosettes, with orange centers, against a dark blue ground adorn the border.

A number of such lions in tile-relief appear to have formed a large frieze. Two types of lions have been found.¹ One represents a lion marching to the left—of this there must have been at least fifteen specimens—while another exhibits a lion marching to the right. Each of these types, again, occurs in two different colorings: either with a white skin and yellow mane, or with a yellow skin and a green mane; the latter being rarer than the former. Moreover, small variations exist between representatives of the same type, especially as regards the tail which in some cases presents more of a curve than in others.

The palette of the Babylonian enameler, it will be noticed, appears to have been very restricted. Compared with the Assyrian paintings, however, the walls of Babylon shone with a deeper, brighter, and more highly colored lustre than those of Nineveh.

As to the position of the frieze, Dr. Koldewey believes that the lions marching to the left had their place on the western side of the outer wall, and those marching to the right on the eastern side of the inner wall, of the *Street of Processions*. The entire series of animals was thus marching on both sides of the street toward the north.²

¹ Cf. *Mitth.*, 3, p. 10.

² Cf. *Mitth.*, 3, p. 11.

For the composition of one of these polychrome enamel reliefs a great many units were required. In order to preserve its fidelity, these separate pieces not only had to coincide exactly, but had also to be fixed and fitted with extreme nicety. Bitumen appears to have been used for the purpose of attaching them to the wall. To fit all the squares into their proper places, numbers, which have been noticed upon the uncovered faces of the crude brick walls, seem to have served for the guidance of the workmen.¹ But the proper distribution of a figure over the bricks or tiles of which it was composed, required still greater skill. To prevent any mistake, it is supposed, the artist took a large plate of soft clay, and modeled upon its surface the entire drawing in relief. Then he cut the plate into squares of the ordinary size of a brick or a tile, and marked each square with a number. These marks have been recognized upon many fragments found at Babylon by the architect Félix Thomas, who accompanied the expedition under Fresnel and Oppert.² The pigment and varnish were laid separately on each brick or tile, which was then put into the kiln and fired at an extraordinarily high temperature, till the enamel became almost like glass. At the same time the uniformity with which the various figures ever recur, constrains us to assume that the artists made use of molds.³

In this manner was composed the decoration of the buildings of Nebuchadnezzar and of Babylon, the splendor of which so impressed the imagination and provoked the anger of the Jewish prophets. It is to paintings of this kind that Ezekiel alludes⁴ when he rebukes Jerusalem, under the name of Abolibab, for its infidelity and its adoption of foreign superstitions: She saw men portrayed on walls, figures of Chaldeans portrayed in vermilion, their loins girded with sashes, their heads adorned with fillets, looking all of them like captains, portraits of Babylonians,—Chaldea was the land of their nativity.⁵

¹ Cf. Place, *Ninive*, 1, p. 253.

² Cf. *Expéd. scient.*, 1, pp. 143 f.; Place, *Ninive*, 2, p. 253; *Mitth.*, 3, p. 10. Loftus also has copied and published a number of marks of the same kind which he had found upon glazed bricks from the palace of Susa (*Travels and Researches*, p. 398).

³ Cf. Koldewey in the *Mitth.*, 3, p. 5; Delitzsch, *Mitth.*, 6, p. 16.

⁴ Semper (*Der Stil*, 1, p. 54) holds that the words of Ezekiel refer to tapestry; cf. Reber in *ZA.*, 1, 290 ff.

⁵ Professor Toy's translation of Ezekiel 23, 14, 15 in *The Polychrome Bible* (New York, 1899).

The Meaning and Etymology of the Word תְּוֹשִׁיעַ in the Old Testament.—By DR. KARL J. GRIMM, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

THE Hebrew word תְּוֹשִׁיעַ, although found only in twelve passages of the Old Testament, is interpreted by the various translators and commentators in more than a dozen different ways. In Job 6, 13, for instance, the Authorized Version, following the Targum, translates it, 'wisdom.' The Septuagint renders it by *βοήθεια*, 'help,' while the Peshita has *ܥܡܘܢܐ*, 'redemptio,' and the Vulgate, 'necessarii mei.' Luther translates 'ability' (*Vermögen*); Schultens 'solida ratio'; J. D. Michaelis 'solatium'; de Wette, Hirzel, Stickel, Vaihinger, Hahn, Studer, Reuss, 'deliverance' (*Rettung*); Ewald, Schlottmann, Fürst, and Volck, 'welfare, salvation' (*Heil*). Welte, Siegfried-Stade, and Dillmann explain it to mean 'wise or reasonable counsel' (*weiser Rath, vernünftiger Rath*). Franz Delitzsch renders it, 'stability' (*Bestand*); similarly Duhm in his commentary on Job (in Marti). Hengstenberg regards 'insight' (*Einsicht*) as the only proper rendering of the word. Matthes translates it 'guidance' (*Geleit*); Merx, 'being, essence' (*Wesenhaftes*); Hitzig, 'health' (*Gesundheit*); the Revised Version, 'effectual working'; Georg Hoffmann and Baethgen, 'expedient' (*Ausweg*); Bickell, 'hope' (*Hoffnung*); Kautzsch, and Duhm, 'hold' (*Halt*); Budde, 'happiness' (*Glück*); Gesenius-Buhl, 'help' (*Hilfe*).¹

A careful examination of the passages where תְּוֹשִׁיעַ occurs, appears to show, however, that the original signification of the

¹ Cf. Schultens, *Liber Jobi*, 1737; J. D. Michaelis, *Supplementorum ad Lexica Hebr. Pars iv*, Gött., 1787, pp. 1167 f.; de Wette, *Heilige Schrift*, 3^d ed., 1839; Hirzel, *Hiob erklärt*, 1839; Stickel, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1842; Vaihinger, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1842; Welte, *D. Buch Job*, 1849; Hahn, *Comment. über d. Buch Hiob*, 1850; Schlottmann, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1851; Ewald, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1854; Delitzsch, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1864; Matthes, *Het Boek Job*, 1865; Hengstenberg, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1870; Merx, *Hiob*, 1871; Fürst, *Heil. Schrift*, 1874; Hitzig, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1874; Studer, *D. Buch Hiob*, 1881; Reuss, *Hiob*, 1888; Volck, *Hiob*, 1889; Dillmann, *Hiob*, 1891; Bickell, *Job*, 1894; Kautzsch, *Altes Test.*, 1894; Budde, *Job*, in the Nowack series, 1896; Duhm, *Job*, in Marti, 1897; *D. Buch Hiob übers.*, 1897; Baethgen, *Hiob*, 1898.

word is 'prop, support.' Subsequently it came to mean 'help' in general, and, by a slight modification, 'success, power, source of help, reliability,' as was suggested by Professor Haupt during the interpretation of the Book of Proverbs in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University.

In Job 30, 21 f. Job, lamenting the terrible progress of his disease, cries out to God:

תִּהְיֶה לְאַכְזָר לִי בְעֵצֶם יָדְךָ תִּשְׁטַמְנֵנִי
 תִּשְׂאֵנִי אֶל-רוּחַ תְּרַכִּיבֵנִי וּתְמַגְגֵנִי תִּשְׂיָה (Qerê):

"Thou art become cruel to me, Thy strong arm is raised in
 enmity against me;
 Thou liftest me up to the wind, Thou makest me ride on, and
 תְּמַגְגֵנִי תִּשְׂיָה"

which the Authorized Version renders: "Thou dissolvest my substance" (in the margin, 'wisdom'). The Vulgate paraphrases: "*elevasti me, et quasi super ventum ponens elisisti me valide.*" Many commentators, however, including Hirzel, Ewald, Olshausen, Delitzsch, Matthes, Volck, Dillmann, Hoffmann, Budde, and Baethgen, follow here the reading of the Kethib תִּשְׂיָה=תִּשְׂוָאָה "Thou hast caused me to melt away in the roar of the storm." The wind, however, as has been remarked by Siegfried in *The Polychrome Bible*, has rather the effect of drying up. Hitzig reads תִּשְׂיָה "Thou makest me level" = "Thou dost lay me prostrate." Merx conjectures תִּשְׂרַנִּי "Thou dost destroy me." König in his *Lehrgebäude* I, 592 f., תִּשְׂוָה 'agitation, restlessness.' But the most natural emendation is suggested by the Greek Version, ἀπέρριψάς με ἀπὸ σωτηρίας,¹ which points to מְתוּשִׂיָה (so Duhm). We should, therefore, translate: "Thou allowest me to totter without support,' like a tree without a prop in the storm. Compare the German expression *zum Spielball des Windes machen*. To emend, with Siegfried in *The Polychrome Bible*, תִּשְׂוָעָה is not necessary. Here תוּשִׂיָה has still the meaning of 'prop, support,' like the Assyrian *asītu*, 'prop, pillar.' From this concrete signification the general meaning 'help' is derived.

¹ Cf. on this reading, G. Beer, *Text d. Buches Hiob*, Marburg, 1895-97, p. 196.

A clear instance of the use of תושיה in the sense of 'help' is met with in Prov. 2, 7. It seems necessary in this passage to transpose the received text.¹ Reading v. 8^b after v. 7^a, and v. 8^a after v. 7^b we have the following *mashal*:

כי יהוה יתן חכמה 6 מפיו דעת ותבונה
 ויצפן לישרים תושיה 7^a ודרך חסדיו ישמר 8^b
 מגן להלכי תם 7^b לנצר ארחות משפט 8^a

‘JHVH gives wisdom, out of His mouth come knowledge and discernment, He has in store תושיה (help) for the upright, and protects the way of the pious. A shield to those who walk in integrity, He guards the path of equity.’”

The rendering of תושיה by ‘help’ appears to agree best with the context, as has been recognized by Clement of Alexandria who translates it by *βοήθεια*. In the same way it is rendered by the Targum. The Septuagint has *σωτηρία*, and the Vulgate *salus*, which is followed by most modern exegetes.

With the same signification תושיה is used in Job 12, 16: עמו עז ותושיה, “With Him is protection and help.” Here תושיה is generally rendered ‘wisdom, knowledge,’ and the like, —so the Targum, Vulgate, the Authorized Version, de Wette, Hirzel, Stickel, Vaihinger, Welte, Schlottmann, Matthes, Fürst, Hitzig, Studer, Reuss, Volck, Dillmann, Siegfried-Stade, Hoffmann, Budde, Baethgen, Gesenius-Buhl, and others. This view has been rightly rejected by Duhm, but his own rendering ‘stability’ (*Bestand*) is hardly more satisfactory. The Greek Bible has *ισχύς*, ‘power,’ the Revised Version ‘effectual working.’ But a description of God’s omniscience and omnipotence has been given in the preceding verses, especially in v. 13. In verse 16, however, Job introduces a new argument, in reply to the words of Zophar, ch. 11, 13 ff.: You tell me that there is hope of deliverance if I should turn to God in penitence? that only for the wicked there is no escape? Yes, Job replies in bitter irony,

¹ Cf. Critical Notes on Proverbs, in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 35, l. 35.

² So Kethib.

³ So Qerê.

⁴ According to Professor Haupt we have here the emphatic particle ל. Cf. *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, July, 1894, p. 107 f.; *Critical Notes on Proverbs* in SBOT., p. 52, l. 11.

עֲמוּ עֵז וְתוֹשִׁיָהּ לֹא שִׁגְגַת וּמִשְׁנָה

“With Him is protection and help,—His are the deceived and the deceiver.”

i. e. they are all alike to him. Theodotion renders here *σωτηρία*, and the Syriac version, *ܥܡܘܠܐ*.

תוֹשִׁיָהּ is further met with in verse 29, of the didactic poem, Isa. 28, 23 ff. As ploughing, says the writer, does not go on all through the year, nor is everything threshed with the same force, so JHVH varies His procedure according to circumstances, and according to the character of those with whom He deals. The ploughers and threshers, i. e. the Babylonians or Persians, will not be allowed to treat Israel as they have treated other nations. For Israel there is a future and a hope :

גַּם-זֹאת מֵעַם יְהוָה יֵצֵא
הַפְּלֵא עֵצָה הַגְּדִיל תוֹשִׁיָהּ :

“This also from JHVH proceeds,
Wonderful in council, great in help.”

This rendering, proposed as early as 1779 by J. D. Michaelis in his *Deutsche Übers. d. Alt. Test. mit Anmerk. f. Ungelehrte*, 8, 1, p. 50, agrees much better with the context of the passage than the explanation of Hitzig, Delitzsch, Dillmann, Siegfried-Stade, Duhm, Kautzsch, Kittel, Cheyne,² and others: “Wonderful counsel, great wisdom has He.” The parallelism is not synonymous, but synthetic.

Job 5, 12 תוֹשִׁיָהּ is best rendered ‘success.’ So rightly Vaihinger, Hitzig, Studer, Reuss, Volek, Baethgen. Eliphaz advises Job to turn to God, and to commit his cause to Him,

מִפֶּן מַחְשְׁבוֹת עֲרוּמִים וְלֹא-תַעֲשִׂינָהּ יְדֵיהֶם תִּשְׂיָהּ

“Who frustrates the devices of the crafty, that their hands accomplish no success.”
He does not give them any assistance, so that their schemes miscarry.

¹ The Masoretic text adds *עֲבָאוֹת*.

² Hitzig, *D. Proph. Jesaia*, 1833, ad loc.; Delitzsch, *Jesaia*, 1866, 3^d ed. 1879, ad loc.; Dillmann, *Jesaia*, 1891, ad loc.; Duhm, *Jesaia*, 1892 ad loc.; Kautzsch, *Alt. Test.*; Dillmann-Kittel, *Jesaia*, 1898, ad loc.: Cheyne, *Isaiah*, in *The Polychrome Bible*, 1898, p. 29.

Success engenders power. This meaning may preferably be assumed for Prov. 8, 14 ; 18, 1. Prov. 8, 14 we read :

לִי עֵצָה וְתוֹשִׁיָּה אֲנִי בִינָה לִי גְבוּרָה :

This verse is usually translated : "Mine is counsel and sound wisdom (תושיה), I am understanding, I have strength." Delitzsch and Frankenberg render תושיה by *Förderung* ; Toy, by 'skill.'¹ But as עֵצָה 'counsel,' stands in parallelism to בִּינָה, 'understanding,' we expect the same relation to exist between תושיה and גְבוּרָה, 'strength.' We should, therefore, translate : "With me is counsel and power, with me² understanding and strength."

Similarly in Prov. 18, 1 where we read :

לְתַאֲוָה יִבְקֹשׁ נַפְרָד בְּכָל-תּוֹשִׁיָּה יִתְנַלֵּעַ :

"One who separates himself seeks desire, he rages against all reason."

This is the general rendering of the aphorism which is supposed to mean that one who holds himself aloof from friends or from society, follows his own selfishness, and opposes everything reasonable. But this observation, as Professor Toy rightly remarks in his commentary on the passage, does not accord with the tone of the Proverbs. We gain a better sense if, on the basis of the Septuagint, followed by the Vulgate, *προφάσεις ζητεῖ ἀνὴρ βουλόμενος χωρῆσθαι ἀπὸ φίλων*, we read, with Hitzig,³ and Frankenberg, לְתַאֲנָה⁴ instead of the Masoretic לְתַאֲוָה, and translate the whole verse as follows :

"The estranged friend seeks an opportunity (of quarrel), seeks בְּכָל-תּוֹשִׁיָּה (with all his power) to stir up strife."

In Job 6, 13 we have תושיה with the meaning 'source of help.' We read :

הָאֵם⁵ אֵין עֲזָרְתִי בּוֹ וְתוֹשִׁיָּה נִדְחָה מִמֶּנִּי :

¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *D. Salomonische Spruchbuch*, 1873, ad loc.; Frankenberg, *Proverbs in the Nowack series*, 1898, ad loc.; Toy, *Proverbs*, 1899, ad loc.

² Read לִי אֲנִי or simply לִי ; cf. Crit. Notes on Proverbs in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 41, l. 28.

³ Hitzig, *D. Sprüche Salomo's*, 1858, ad loc.

⁴ Cf. Moore, *Judges*, ad 14, 4 (pp. 328 f.).

⁵ The Peshita reads אִם (= הִנֵּה).

⁶ *Sic*, following the LXX.; the Masor. text has כִּי .

The translation of the Authorized Version, "Is not my help in me? and is my wisdom (תְּשִׁיָּה) driven quite from me?", entirely misses the sense of the passage. Job, replying to his friend Eliphaz, justifies his despair. The good man is never allowed to perish, you say, but how much longer can a body of flesh hold out? If God would be my friend, the only favor I crave is that He would shorten my agony and let me die. But no, I have no help to expect from Him, הָאֵם אֵין עֲזָרָתִי כּוּ, and, he continues, "תְּשִׁיָּה is quite driven from me." Here תְּשִׁיָּה stands in parallelism to עֲזָרָה, 'help.' In this sense the word has been understood by the Septuagint, which renders it by βοήθεια; the Peshita translates ܥܘܘܢܐ.¹ The interpretation of תְּשִׁיָּה by 'source of help' appears to fit the context best.

Finally we have a few passages where תְּשִׁיָּה apparently designates the object which serves as a support, on what you may rely, hence 'reliability.'

Such seems to be the meaning of the word in Job 26, 3 :

הוֹשַׁעְתָּ זְרוּעַ לֹא-עוֹ	מִה-עֲזָרָתָ לְלֹא-כֹחַ
וְתִשָּׂיָה לְלֵב הוֹרֵעֶתָ :	מִה-יַעֲצָתָ לְלֹא הַכְּמָה

"How hast thou helped him that is without power, and supported the arm that is without strength.

How hast thou counseled him that has no wisdom, and made known to him abundantly תְּשִׁיָּה (on what he can rely)."

In the sense of 'reliability' the word occurs in Prov. 3, 21. We must here transpose, with Umbreit in his commentary on *Proverbs* (Heidelberg, 1826), the two clauses of the aphorism, and read :

בְּנֵי נֶצַח תְּשִׁיָּה וּמְזֻמָּה	אֵל יִלְזוּ מֵעֵינֶיךָ :
------------------------------------	--------------------------

"My son, observe תְּשִׁיָּה (reliability) and discretion, let them not depart from thy sight."

that is to say, Try to be circumspect and discreet; keep on safe ground, do not engage in any wild schemes, neither act without a definite plan; if you want to accomplish an object, observe the proper precautionary measures and devise ways and means for the carrying out of your project. The rendering of Frankenberg, "Observe welfare (*Heil*) and prudent reflection" is unintelligible.

¹ To suppose, with Beer (*Text d. Buches Hiob*, ad loc.) and Budde (*Job in the Nowack series*), that the Greek and Syriac versions read תְּשׁוּעָה, is not necessary.

Similarly in Job II, 6 תושיה is best rendered by 'reliability.' Zophar replies to Job's protest of innocence:

וְיִפְתַּח שִׁפְתָיו עִמָּךְ וְאוּלָם מִיִּתֵּן אֱלֹהֵי דְבָר
 כִּי־כַפְלִים לְתוֹשִׁיָה וְיִגְדֶּלְךָ תַעֲלָמוֹת חֲכָמָה
 וְרַע כִּי יִשָּׂא לְךָ אֱלֹהֵי מַעֲוֹנֶךָ :

"If God would only speak, and open His lips against thee,
 And reveal to thee the hidden depths of wisdom, כִּי כַפְלִים
 לְתוֹשִׁיָה

Then wouldst thou know that God overlooks yet part of thy
 guilt."

What is the meaning of כִּי כַפְלִים לְתוֹשִׁיָה? The interpretations which have been proposed are all alike more or less artificial. The Septuagint reads *ὅτι διπλοῦς ἔσται τῶν κατὰ σέ,* the Vulgate, *ut ostenderet tibi secreta sapientiae et quod multiplex esset lex eius.* The Targum and the Peshita, followed by many modern exegetes, render it by 'wisdom.' The Authorized Version has: "And that He would show thee the secrets of wisdom that they are double to that which is"—whatever this may mean. Ewald, de Wette, Hirzel, and others: "How doubly strong they are in insight." Merx: "for like miracles they are in being" (*denn wie die Wunder sind sie in dem Wesen*), reading כַּפְלָאִים instead of כַּפְלִים, which emendation is adopted by Bickell, Duhm, and Baethgen. Bickell translates *die wunderbar der Einsicht*; Duhm, *Wunder an Vernunft*; Baethgen, *Wunder der Vernunft*. Georg Hoffmann renders: "to show thee that the secrets of His wisdom doubly surpass reason." But it seems best to regard the words, with Siegfried in *The Polychrome Bible*, as a marginal gloss which has crept into the text. It apparently is the note of an orthodox Jew indicating his agreement with Zophar: If God would speak, indeed, it would be a reliable oracle, a *šīru takiltu*,¹ the term which Esarhaddon uses in reference to the encouraging oracle he received when about to march against his father's murderers.

There remains but one passage for our discussion, *viz.*, Mic. 6, 9. As the Masoretic text reads, קוֹל יְהוָה לְעִיר יִקְרָא וְתוֹשִׁיָה

¹ Syn. *annu kenu*; cf. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 88, n. 4; p. 89, no. 2.

רָאָה שְׁמֶךָ, it is void of proper sense.¹ The usual interpretation gives us the following: "The voice of JHVH cries to the city, and wisdom regards Thy name." The Authorized Version renders: "The Lord's voice crieth unto the city, and the man of wisdom shall see thy name," and in the margin, "thy name shall see that which is." Hitzig, Wellhausen, and Nowack² emend שְׁמוֹ 'His name,' instead of שְׁמֶךָ 'Thy name,' "it is wisdom to fear His name." Kautzsch, following Roorda,³ conjectures ותוֹשִׁית יְרָאִי שְׁמוֹ שְׁמֶךָ, *Heilsames vernehmen die, die seinen Namen fürchten*. But it seems better to follow the reading of the Septuagint, σώσει φοβουμένων τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ = יִשְׁעֵי יְרָאִי שְׁמוֹ. "He will rescue those that fear His name." The words most probably are a later insertion⁴ for the purpose of mitigating the threats of severe punishment which follow.

A detailed investigation of all the passages where תוֹשִׁיה occurs thus reveals the fact that it signifies 'support,' then 'help, success, power, source of help, reliability.' This development of meaning is an exact parallel to that which we see in the Assyrian *tukulṭu* (from *takābu*), 'support, help, power, reliability.'

As regards the etymology of תוֹשִׁיה, many scholars, including Ibn Ezra, Qamchi, Schultens,⁵ Hirzel, Schlottmann, Merx, Wildeboer,⁶ Budde, Duhm, and Gesenius-Buhl, derive the word from a stem יִשָּׁה, and connect it with Hebrew יִשׁ, 'existence,' and Assyrian *išā*, 'to have.' But Hebrew יִשׁ and Assyrian *išā* go back to a stem with an initial *iḥd* *originarium*.⁷ It seems most improbable that a noun *tūšīḫ*, with *ū* in the first syllable, could be derived from such a stem, especially as there are no other analogies.

¹ Cf. on the text, Ryssel, *Textgestalt und Echtheit d. B. Micha*, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 101 ff.

² Cf. Hitzig, *D. 12 Kleinen Proph.*, 4th ed., 1881, ad loc.; Wellhausen, *D. Kleinen Propheten*, ad loc.; Nowack, *D. Kleinen Proph.*, 1897, ad loc.

³ *Comment. in Vaticinium Michæ*, 1869, ad loc.

⁴ This was recognized by Hartmann in his commentary on *Micah*, 1800.

⁵ *Liber Jobi*, 1737, ad Job 5, 12.

⁶ *D. Sprüche*, 1897, ad Prov. 2, 7. Cf. also Toy, *Proverbs*, ad Prov. 2, 7.

⁷ Cf. Haupt, *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879) p. 21, n. 1. For the original identity of יִשׁ and the *nota accusativi* אִת, see Crit. Notes on Proverbs in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 51, l. 6.

Franz Delitzsch at first supposed תְּוֹשִׁיָה to be a formation from the Hoph'al with the signification of 'reality' (*Wirklichkeit*) as opposed to 'mere appearance' (*blosser Schein*),¹ but in his commentary on *Proverbs*, published in 1873, p. 61 f., he rejects this view as unsatisfactory, and, following Fleischer, connects it with the Arabic *أسى* or *واسى*, 'to further.'² In his commentary on Isaiah, 3^d ed., 1879, again, he presents as possible both a derivation from a Qal *וּשָׂה*, '*subsistere*,'³ and from the Hiph'il *הוֹשִׂה*; 'to enable,' which implies, however, a change of an *o* into an *u*. This change Delitzsch leaves unexplained. J. Barth in his *Nominalbildung d. semit. Sprachen*, 1889, § 189 e, regards the word as a form *taqtilat* from *יָשָׂה* (= Assy. *išû*). But, as stated above, *יָשָׂה* = Assy. *išû* is a verb with an initial *îôd originarium*, and even if it went back to a stem פ"י, it would still be hard to see how Barth's *tôšîah* could become *tûšîah*. In his *Etymologische Studien*, 1893, p. 66 f., he abandoned this idea, and practically revived the opinion of Hitzig, tracing תְּוֹשִׁיָה back to a stem *שׁוּה*, which by transposition became *וּשָׂה*. This view was refuted as early as 1873 by Delitzsch in his commentary on *Proverbs*, l. s. c. Dillmann, ad Job 5, 12, and Frankenberg, *Prov.*, p. 26, pronounce a *non liquet* as to the etymology of תְּוֹשִׁיָה. So pessimistic a view, however, seems not to be justified. J. D. Michaelis appears to have made a step in the right direction when in his *Supplement. ad Lexica Heb. Pars Quarta*, Gött., 1787, pp. 1167 f., he rejects all relation of תְּוֹשִׁיָה with *שׁ*, 'existence,'—although without giving a satisfactory reason—and points to Arabic *وشى* or *أسا*, '*mederi*.'⁴ The word is a form *tuqtilat*, as Olshausen, Stade, and König rightly maintain.⁵ It seems to be connected etymologically with the Assyrian stem *asû* (a synonym of *takálu*), in the Ninevite pronunciation, *ašû*, 'to support, to help,' and its derivatives *issu* and *usātu*, 'help,' *asû*, 'helper, physician,' *asîtu*, 'pillar, support,' which, in the Ninevite pronunciation *ašîtu*,⁶ has passed into Hebrew where we

¹ Cf. his commentary on *Job*, 1st ed., 1864, ad 5, 12.

² So also Nowack, *Sprüche Salomo's*, 1883, ad 2, 7.

³ Cf. also Olshausen, *Lehrb.*, 400; König, *Lehrgeb.*, 2, 1, 193 b.

⁴ Cf. Critical Notes on *Proverbs*, in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 35, l. 22.

⁵ Cf. Olshausen, *Lehrb.*, 400; Stade, *Lehrb.*, 260, 262; König, *Lehrb.*, ii, 1, 193 b.

⁶ Cf. Crit. Notes on *Ezekiel*, in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 71, l. 43; p. 82, l. 27.

meet with it in Jer. 50, 15, אֲשִׁיהּ = Talm. אֲשִׁיתָא = Eastern Syriac اَتْنَهْ = Mand. אֲשִׁיתָא = Arab. آسِيَة, 'pillar.'¹ In this connection it is important to note that תושיה occurs only in late writings, besides Is. 28, 29 (Exilic or post-Exilic), only in Proverbs and Job. In Mic. 6, 9 it is due, as has been shown above, to the corruption of the text. The stem, likewise, occurs in Syriac² اَآد, 'to heal,' اُأْتَمَلَا, 'help;' it has passed into Arabic,³ where we have اَسَا or وَا, 'to cure,' اَسَى or اَسَى, 'to help,' and is met with in the Ethiopic *asōt* 'medela, sanatio.'

So we see that תושיה means 'support,' then 'help, success, power, source of help, reliability,' all very slight modifications of the original meaning. The various renderings, such as 'subsistence, reality, essence, wisdom, knowledge, intelligence, happiness,' etc., proposed by commentators, are not warranted. Nor can the connection of תושיה with יֵשׁ be maintained. The word must be considered a form *tuqtilat* from a stem *asā*, 'to support, to help.'

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, § 97, p. 113; Haupt, *Beitr. z. assyr. Lautlehre*, Nachr. d. Gött. Königl. Ges. d. Wiss., Apr. 1883, p. 90, n. 4.

² Cf. the Saphel شَهَسَ *sausē* 'to treat, to nurse;' Cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, p. 147, n. 4; *Syr. Gr.*², § 180, 2.

³ Cf. Fränkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, 1886, p. 261.

The Internal Passive in Semitic.—By FRANK R. BLAKE,
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

IN the Semitic languages the passive may be expressed in several ways. Nearly all of these languages have a number of reflexive stems that are used for the passive, just as many forms of the Greek middle are so employed; e. g. Syriac ܐܬܗܩܥܝܠ *ithqē'il*, Ethiopic *taqatāla*, Hebrew נִקְטַל *niqtāl*, all meaning 'he was killed.' In Biblical Aramaic we have a passive which has the same form as the passive participle; cf. e. g. הִבְתָּ *ihēvath* 'she was given,' with בֵּרִיךְ *bērīkh* 'blessed.' In Assyrian the various permansive forms have, in a majority of cases, a passive meaning; e. g. *peti* 'it is or was opened,' *çabit* 'it is or was captured,' *epuš* 'it is made,' *nukkumā* 'they were heaped up,' *šuklul* 'it is completed,' etc. But the passive formation which is most characteristically Semitic is the passive made by so-called internal vowel change;¹ e. g. Arabic قَتَلَ *qatila* 'he was killed,' which, from a superficial point of view, may be regarded as derived from the active قَاتَلَ *qatala*, by changing the first two *a* vowels of the active to *u* and *i* respectively.

This so-called internal passive occurs in Arabic and Hebrew, and apparently also in Biblical Aramaic and Assyrian. In all these languages the forms have one feature in common, namely, they are all characterized by the presence of an *u* vowel in the first syllable.

In Arabic the passive perfect of the simple stem has the form قَتِلَ *qutila*, with *u* in the first syllable, and *i* between the second and third stem consonants. The imperfect is represented by the form يُقْتَلُ *iquqtalu*, which has likewise an *u* in the first syllable, but an *a* between the second and third stem consonants. Similar forms are made in all the derived conjugations, e. g.:

- II. قَتِّلَ *quqtīla*, يُقْتَلُّ *iquqtallu* ;
IV. أُقْتِلَ *uqtīla*, يُقْتَلُّ *iquqtalu* ;
V. تُقْتَلُّ *tuqtīla*, يُتَقْتَلُّ *utuqtallu*, etc.

¹ Cf. Steintal-Misteli, *Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaus* (Berlin, 1893) pp. 440, 461.

In Hebrew the internal passive is represented by the conjugations Pual and Hophal, together with a few forms of certain rarer conjugations. The common characteristics of all these forms are the *u* vowel of the first syllable, and the *a* vowel between the second and third stem consonants; e. g.:

Pual קטל *quṭtal*, יקטל *iṣquṭtal*;
Hophal הקטל *hōqṭal*, יקטל *iḏqṭal*.

In Biblical Aramaic the internal passive occurs only in the causative stem, being represented by a number of Hophal perfects, e. g.: הנחת *hōnḥath*, 'he was deposed';

הובד *hāvadh*, 'he was annihilated;' etc.¹

These forms are in all probability due to the influence of Hebrew, as no corresponding forms occur in any other Aramaic dialect.² The passive stem Pē'īl, e. g. יהיב *iḥhīv* 'it was given,' is not to be regarded as belonging to the same category as the internal passive formations in Arabic and Hebrew,³ but is best considered simply as an inflected passive participle.⁴

In Assyrian the permansive forms of the Piel and Shaphel, e. g. *kuššud* and *šukšud*, which have usually a passive meaning,⁵ may, in a general way, be compared with the internal passive formations in the languages just discussed. They appear, however, to be a specific Assyrian development, and are not to be regarded as the equivalents of the passive perfect forms of the intensive and causative stems in the cognate languages.⁶ In the Tell-el-Amarna tablets there occur a certain number of passive forms such as *iūdanu* 'it was given,' *iūsmā* 'it was heard,' *iugba'u* 'it is said,' *tulqā* 'it is taken,' etc., which correspond to the Arabic imperfect passive of the simple stem, e. g., یقتل *iugṭalu*, and the Hebrew imperfect Hophal, e. g., יקטל *iogṭal*. According to Professor

¹ For an enumeration of the forms, cf. Strack, *Gram. d. bibl. Aramäischen*, § 24 passim.

² So Luzzato, *Gram. of the Biblical Chaldaic Language*, § 44; Kautzsch, *Gram. d. Biblisch-Aramäischen*, §§ 23. 1, Anm. zu No. 2; 34.

³ So Wright, *Comparative Gram.*, p. 224, 3 a.

⁴ So Kautzsch, § 29, 3; Marti, *Kurzgef. Gram. d. biblisch-Aramäischen Sprache*, § 49, d.

⁵ Cf. Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 11; McCurdy, *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Part 2, Section 1 (Leyden, 1883), p. 515; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Gram.*, p. 247 (English edition, p. 250).

⁶ Cf. however, L. Nix, *Zur Erklärung d. semitischen Verbalformen*, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (ZA.) vol. 10, pp. 189 ff.

Knudtson, however, these are not genuine Assyrian forms, but are due to Canaanite influence.¹

Such, in brief, is the aspect which the internal passive presents in the different Semitic languages: in Arabic and Hebrew we find it in a highly developed condition; in Biblical Aramaic and Assyrian the few forms which clearly belong to this category are best regarded as due to foreign influence; in Syriac and Ethiopic there is not a trace of the formation.

Some grammarians believe that the internal passive existed in a highly developed form in parent Semitic; they regard Arabic as closest to the original type, and think that this formation has been lost in those languages where it does not appear.² But it is more natural to suppose that the internal passive is a late formation which was not developed to any extent except in Arabic and Hebrew (so Haupt), especially as Assyrian, which possesses at best only a few traces of such passive forms, presents a more archaic type than any other Semitic language.

The peculiar vocalism of these internal passive forms has, so far as I know, never been satisfactorily explained. The vowels between the second and third stem consonants, are, of course, to be regarded as the same as the characteristic vowels which we have in the intransitive verb (so Haupt), but the *u* of the first syllable, which is the most prominent characteristic of the internal passive, still remains problematical.³ It seems possible, however, to determine the origin of this *u*, as I hope to show in the following discussion of the forms of the internal passive in Arabic and Hebrew.

The Arabic passive forms of the simple stem, perfect *qutīla*, imperfect *īuqtalu*, bear a strong resemblance to the intransitive verbal forms, perfect *qatīla*, imperfect *īaqtalu*. In fact, the only difference lies in the vowel of the initial syllable, which is *a* in the intransitive, but *u* in the passive.

¹ See *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 4, 410 and cf. *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1892), p. xiii; Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy* (London, 1893), p. 119; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 2, f.

² So Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 222; Dillmann-Bezold, *Gram. d. äthiopischen Sprache*, p. 137.

³ Professor Haupt has suggested that in the form *qutīla* we have, in some way, a combination of the characteristic vowels of the intransitive forms *qatīla* and *qatula*.

In addition to this similarity of form, we find a great similarity of meaning. As Professor Reckendorf¹ has pointed out, the meaning of the passive form is in many instances simply intransitive like that of the verbs *fa'ila*, especially in the case of verbs denoting disease, e. g. جَسِيَ *jusi'a* 'to be or become hard, tough;' ذَهِيَ *zuhija* 'to be proud, boastful;' مَشَقَّ *mušiqā* 'be graceful;' رَمِيَ *rumi'a* 'have an eruption of the skin, small-pox[?];' رُئِيَ *ru'ija* 'have a complaint of the lungs,' etc., etc. Not infrequently the passive and intransitive forms from the same root are identical in meaning; e. g. تَبَّ *thu'iba* and *tha'ibu* 'be relaxed, sluggish;' لَقِيَ *luqiha* and *laqiha* 'be pregnant, conceive;' نَزَلَ *nuzila* and *nazila* 'suffer with catarrh;' نَهَمَ *nuhima* and *nahima* 'be greedy,' etc., etc.

Such a striking likeness, both in form and meaning, suggests that the internal passive may be nothing but a subsequent differentiation of the intransitive form, and this is borne out by a careful study of the formation of the imperfect.

According to Professor Haupt,² the preformatives of the third person of the parent Semitic imperfect were originally simply the vowels *u* or *i*. These were, in all probability, pronouns of the third person used indiscriminately for the masculine or feminine, and are apparently identical with the final element of Hebrew הוּ *hu'*, הִי *hi'*, Assyrian *šū, šī*, and with the initial element of Ethiopic *u'ē'tā, i'ē'tī*. In Arabic the *i* and *u* preformatives are modified by analogical influences to *īa* and *īu*; in Hebrew the *i* appears as *īi* (pronounced *i*), the *u*, however, has no distinctly marked representative.³

These preformatives *i* and *u* were differentiated at a very early period, *i* being adopted for the Qal and Niphal, *u* for the intensive and causative stems. For example, from Assyrian *kašādu* 'to conquer,' we have *ikāšad* and *ikkašad* (for *inkašad*), but

¹ *Syntaktische Verhältnisse d. Arabischen* (Leyden, 1895), § 25.

² In a paper on *The Vowels of the Preformatives of the Imperfect in Semitic*, read before the American Oriental Society, at Cambridge, in 1899; cf. vol. 20 of this *Journal*, pp. 367, 370, No. 13. The paper will be published in one of the Johns Hopkins University Circulars for the current year (1901).

³ The preformative of the imperfect Piel *īē* presumably represents *u* or *īu*, but it might just as well stand for *īa* or *īi*.

ukaššad and *ušaššad*. The *u* preformative of the simple stem,¹ however, seems to have been preserved in the Hebrew form יוכל *īakal*,² which is not passive but the regular imperfect of the intransitive verb יכל *īakōl* 'to be able,' whose first consonant is ' representing original ʾ. The verbs primæ , in Arabic have imperfects passive of exactly the same form as יוכל, e. g. یولد *īaladu* 'he will be born;' یوجد *īajadu* 'it will be found;' etc. These formations differ from the imperfect passive of the strong verb, as e. g. یقتل *īuqtalu*, only in the fact that their initial , quiesces and lengthens the preceding short *u*; consequently יוכל *īakal* and *īuqtalu* may be regarded as representing essentially the same verbal form.³

¹ In certain Arabic dialects the *u*-preformative was used in imperfect forms with characteristic *u*, e. g. *nu'budu* for *na'budu*; cf. Wright-de Goeje, I, § 94, c, B. The by-form with *u* was here preserved under the influence of the following *u*-vowel, just as the by-form *hi* instead of *hu* is preserved in cases like *biyadihi* under the influence of the preceding *i*-vowel.

² This form has usually been explained in one of two ways: (1) It is regarded as an imperfect Qal from an original form *īaukal*, which was contracted to *īōkal*, and then modified to *īūkal*; so Bickell, *Outlines of Heb. Gram.*, p. 33; Stade, § 486; König, *Lehrgebäude*, II, p. 407; II, 1, p. 484, top; Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 69, v. But in the 3 m. s. imperf. Qal, except in the case of verbs primæ gutturalis, we should expect a preformative *īi*, which would probably have yielded **īōkal* (< **īiūkal*), the ʾ being first changed to ' under the influence of the preceding *i*, and then quiescing in it: cf. Arabic الغازی for الغازو*. Moreover, the change from *īōkal* to *īūkal* is not satisfactorily explained. (2) It is regarded as an imperfect Hophal like יובל 'he was led,' meaning 'he was rendered able or capable.' So Olshausen, p. 586; Ewald, *Ausführl. Lehrb.*, p. 336, b; A. Müller, *Schulgram.*, p. 95, s. No form either of the perfect Hophal or of the Hiphil, however, is made from this root. The proper name יהובל Jer. 37, 3, which occurs also in Jer. 38, 1, in the form יובל, has sometimes been cited as showing that יובל belongs to the Hophal. In all probability, however, the first part of יובל is the divine name יה or יהו; cf. Böttcher, § 475, f. The form יובל occurs also in Biblical Aramaic alongside of the more usual form יכל. Here, however, it is best regarded as a Hebraism; cf. Kautzsch, *Bibl.-Aram. Gr.*, p. 68.

³ The form יובל is certainly not identical with the Assyrian present of the verb primæ , like *uššab* 'I sit,' *urrad* 'I descend,' impt. *ūšib*,

The Arabic imperfect passive of the simple form, therefore, may be looked upon as an intransitive imperfect with characteristic *a* between the second and third stem consonants, and with *u* preformative; that is to say, it differs from the ordinary intransitive imperfect *ḡaqtalu* only in that the preformative has an *u* instead of an *a* vowel.

In the intransitive verbs of the form *qatila*, then, the imperfects with both *i* and *u* preformatives were preserved, the forms with *u* preformative being more or less exclusively used in a passive sense, thus presenting an example of the general linguistic principle of the arbitrary differentiation or adaptation of coexisting byforms for special purposes.

Now as there existed side by side the intransitive forms *qatila* and *ḡaqtalu* with *a* in the first syllable, corresponding as perfect and imperfect, and the passive imperfect *ḡuqtalu* with *u* vowel in the first syllable, by a perfectly natural proportional analogy the perfect *qatila* was formed, as follows: *ḡaqtalu* : *qatila* : : *ḡuqtalu* : *qatila*. Such a derivation of the form *qatila*, moreover, is in accordance with one of the fundamental principles of Comparative Semitic Grammar, which was stated by Professor Haupt as early as 1878,¹ namely that the perfect is in a great many cases a secondary form, later than, and often influenced by the imperfect.²

The Arabic internal passive is not confined to the simple form, but is made, as we have seen, from all the principal verbal stems, e. g. II قَتَلَ *qattila*, يَقْتَلُ *ḡuqattalu*; X اسْتَقْتَلَ *ustuqtila*, يَسْتَقْتَلُ *ḡustaqttalu*; etc. These forms, however, are best regarded as based on the analogy of the passive of the simple stem.

The passives of the verbs primæ infirmæ, e. g. وَلِدَ *ḡulida*, and tertïæ infirmæ, e. g. قَضَى *quḏiḏa*, are plainly of the same type as

ūrid (Delitzsch, § 112). The doubling of the second stem consonant in these forms does not indicate length of the preceding vowel, but must be explained in the same way as in the present forms of the verbs primæ N, e. g. *ixxaz* 'he takes,' *ikkal* 'he eats,' etc. (Delitzsch, § 103).

¹ JRAS, 1878, p. 244.

² With regard to the derivation of the passive from intransitive forms, cf. the frequent use in Assyrian of the intransitive form corresponding to Hebrew כָּבֵד *kāvēdh* 'he was heavy,' Arabic فَرِحَ *fariḡa* 'he rejoiced.' in a passive sense; e. g. *šakin* 'it is placed,' *ḡabit* 'it is or was taken,' etc. (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 237; Eng. ed., p. 239.)

the passive of the strong verb, and the passive of the verbs mediæ geminatæ, e. g. **فَرَّ** *furra*, **فُرِرَتْ** *furirta*, may also perhaps be so regarded; in the verbs mediæ infirmæ, however, the passive presents a different aspect.

Here the perfect passive of the simple stem is nearly always of the form **قِيلَ** *qīla* (he was called) with middle vowel *i*, though a few rare forms with middle vowel *ū* such as **قُولَ** *qāla*, also occur.¹ These forms are explained by Wright² as contracted from **quūila*.

The verbs mediæ infirmæ, however, must be considered with August Müller (ZDMG. 33, 698), Nöldeke (*Syr. Gr.*³ § 177), Stade (§ 143, 2), and others as two-consonantal forms, with the middle vowel lengthened to conform them to the prevailing three-consonantal type. The passives like **قِيلَ** and **قُولَ** are to be compared with the Hebrew passive participles like **שִׁים** *sīm* 'placed,' and **מול** *māl* 'circumcised,' and indirectly with the Arabic passive participial forms like **مَقُولَ** *maqūl* 'called' and **مَسِيرَ** *masīr* 'traveled,' where the initial syllable *ma* appears to be secondary, due to the analogy of the participles of the derived forms (so Haupt).

Such a comparison is perfectly natural, as instances in which participial and finite verbal forms are identical are by no means rare in Semitic; cf., e. g., the Hebrew participles and verbal adjectives **כבד** *kāvēdh* 'heavy' and **קטן** *qātōn* 'small,' with the intransitive verbs *kāvēdh* 'he was heavy,' *qātōn* 'he was small';³

¹ Other examples of the same form are **هوب** *hūba* 'he was regarded with awe, veneration,' **سول** *sūla* 'he was asked.'

² *Comp. Gram.*, p. 244.

³ In the verbs mediæ infirmæ the participle and the 3 s. m. perf. are identical even when the verb has the transitive form; we have not only **מת** *mēth*, **בש** *bōš*, but also **קם** *qām* as participle and perfect: so Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 273, fn. 1; cf. however, Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 72, g. The participle and 3 s. m. perf. Niphal of verbs of this class are also identical in form, e. g. cf. **נסוג** *nāsōgh*, perfect, with **נבון** *nāvōn*, participle. Moreover, the participle and 3 s. m. perf. Niphal of the strong verb, e. g. **נקטל** *niqtāl* and **נקטל** *niqtal*, are to be regarded as representing the same form, since the original short *a* of a final syllable is lengthened under the influence of the accent in nominal forms, but preserved short in the forms of the verb; cf., for example, **דבר** *dāvār* 'word' with **הרג** *hārāgh* 'he killed,' which both go back to the ground-form *qātāl*. There is also a small number of participles

Arabic فرح *fariḥu*ⁿ 'glad' and شكس *šakusu*ⁿ 'stubborn' with *fariḥa* 'he was glad,' *šakusa* 'he was stubborn.' In Biblical Aramaic, indeed, inflected passive participles are used for the passive perfect, just as we have supposed in the case of *qīla* and *qāla*; cf., for example, גמיר *gēmīr* 'completed,' זקוף *zəqīf* 'raised,' with יהנת *ḡhīvath* 'it was given,' יהבו *ḡhīvū* 'they were given,' etc.¹ Moreover, in the verbs mediæ infirmæ, the form שים *sīm* (= Hebrew *sīm*) corresponding exactly in form to Arabic قیل *qīla*, is used both as passive participle and as finite passive.

The passive perfect of the verbs mediæ infirmæ, therefore, is of an entirely different type from that of the strong verb. In the latter, the perfect is formed on the basis of an intransitive imperfect with *u* preformative, while in the verbs mediæ infirmæ, an inflected passive participial form is employed for the perfect.²

It has already been shown in the discussion of the strong verb, that the passive and intransitive forms are closely related. A similar connection appears in the case of verbs mediæ infirmæ. The first and second persons perfect of the intransitive verb خاف *xāfa* 'he feared,' are *xīftu*, *xīfta*, etc., usually explained as contracted from **xayiftu*, **xayifta*, etc.³ But the first and second persons of the passive perfect have the same form, e. g. *qiltu* 'I was called,' *qilta*, etc. It is not improbable that the two series of forms are identical, and that the third person singular perfect of the intransitive verbs was originally the same as the corresponding form of the passive, viz. قیل *qīla*, or rather the pretriconsonantal type *qila*, with short *i*, i. e. a form like מת.⁴ The

of the passive Qal which bear the same relation to the 3 s. m. of the corresponding perfects; e. g., לקח *luqqāḥ* 'taken,' etc., cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 52, s.

¹ Cf. also Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², § 64, and Crit. Notes on Proverbs, in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 35, l. 15.

² In Biblical Aramaic, as we have seen, this type of passive is made also in the strong verb; we have not only שים *sīm*, but also forms like יהבו *ḡhīvū*.

³ So Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, p. 245.

⁴ This is the only certain instance in the verb in Hebrew. In the noun, however, the examples of this form are more numerous, e. g. גר *gēr* 'stranger,' כן *kēn* 'righteous,' זר *zēdh* 'haughty,' לץ *lēṣ* 'mocker,' עד *ēdh* 'witness.' In several of the forms quoted by Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*², § 98 C, the *ē* was originally an *ā*; for instance, *kēfā* 'stone,' Assyr. *kāpu*; cf. *ibid.*, § 97.

form with long *i* is found in Assyrian *mât*, 'he died,' Syriac *ܡܬܗ* *mîth*. For this form, identical with the perfect passive *قيل qîla*, perfects like *خاف xâfa* 'he feared,' *مات mâta* 'he died,' made on the analogy of transitive forms like *قال qâla* 'he said,' have been substituted.

In Arabic, therefore, the evidence is strongly in favor of the theory that the internal passive is simply a differentiation from the intransitive form, the imperfect with *u* preformative being the germ of the formation. The same theory is supported by the evidence of the forms in Hebrew.

Here the principal passive forms are the so-called Pual and Hophal, e. g., Pual: *קטל quttal*, *יקטל iëquttal*; Hophal: *הקטל hōqṭal*, *יקטל iḏqṭal*. It has been recognized for many years, however, that a considerable number of Pual perfects and Hophal imperfects are really passives of Qal,¹ so we may assume that Hebrew formerly possessed the following passive formations from the simple stem, viz., perfect *qutal*, without doubling of the second stem consonant, and imperfect *iṭqal*.

The imperfect is here as in Arabic to be regarded as the nucleus of the passive formations. It was originally, like the Arabic form, an intransitive imperfect with *u* preformative, as for example *יוכל iakal*, 'he will be able.' On the basis of this imperfect, a perfect *qutal* with *u* in the first syllable was made, the vowel of the second syllable, however, being *a*, the same as that of the imperfect, and not *i* as in Arabic *qutîla*. It is not impossible, however, that the vowel of the second syllable was originally *i*, which was changed to *a* under the influence of the imperfect.

The passive formations with *u* in the first syllable and characteristic intransitive *a* vowel, were then extended to the derived conjugations Piel and Hiphîl, giving the Pual and Hophal. Scattered instances of rarer passive conjugations also occur; for example, *אמלל umlal* 'it withered,' *כלכלו kōlkēlā*, 'they were nourished,' *התפקרו hōthpāqēdhā*, 'they were counted,' etc.

Besides the internal passive of Qal, there is another stem, the Niphal, originally reflexive, which has come to be used as the regular passive of Qal. This fact has in all probability prevented any extensive growth of the internal passive of the simple stem, and the forms which had already been developed came to be

¹ Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, §§ 52, e; 53. u. See also *Hebraica*, 3, 39.

regarded at a later period as belonging to the passives of the derived conjugations, the perfect being assimilated to the Pual, from which it differed only in the doubling of the middle radical, the imperfect to the Hophal, with which it was identical, just as the Arabic imperfect passive forms of the simple and causative stems are identical, both being represented by the form *īuqtalu*.

The doubling of the second stem consonant in the perfect passive forms of Qal is probably only an orthographic device of the Masorites to preserve the short vowel in an open syllable, just as in קִטְּנָה, from קָטַן *small*; אֲדַמָּה, from אָדַם *red*; עֲרַמִּים, from עָרַם *naked*; עֲגַלָּה, from עָגַל *round*; קִטְּנָה, from קָטַן *small*; גִּמְלִים, from גָּמַל *camel*, etc., etc.

The Semitic internal passive, therefore, may be regarded as having its origin in an intransitive imperfect of the simple form with *u* preformative, a form such as, for example, the Hebrew יוֹכַל *īakal* 'he will be able.' The passive value which is apparently inherent in the *u* vowel of the initial syllable, and the *a* vowel between the second and third stem consonants, is simply due to the presence of these vowels in these same positions in this intransitive imperfect form.

On the basis of this imperfect, a perfect form was made, having like the imperfect an *u* in the initial syllable; in Arabic, the form *qutīla*, with *i* in the second syllable, due to the influence of the intransitive perfects like فَرِحَ *fariḥa* 'to rejoice;' in Hebrew, the form *qutal*, which has either retained the characteristic *a* vowel of the intransitive imperfect or changed the *i* of *qutīla* to *a* on the analogy of this imperfect, or possibly of the active forms.

The passive thus established in the simple form was extended by analogy to the derived conjugations. In Arabic the internal passive of the simple form remains as such alongside of the passive of the intensive, causative, etc.; in Hebrew, however, the extensive use of the originally reflexive Niphal as the passive of Qal has prevented any extensive development of the internal formation in this stem, the forms which occur being misunderstood and considered as belonging to the derived conjugations, the perfect, to the Piel, the imperfect, to the Hophal.

The Word ךו in the Siloam Inscription.—By FRANK R. BLAKE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

THE student of Hebrew is in a very unfavorable position with regard to his sources; much less favorable, in fact, than the student of that newly opened field of Semitic study, the cuneiform inscriptions. The Assyriologist has the great advantage of possessing throughout authentic and contemporary documents, while the Hebraist must content himself with late copies, written long after Hebrew ceased to be a living language.

All the extant manuscripts of the Old Testament are late, the oldest, whose date is known with certainty, being the St. Petersburg Codex of the Prophets, which is not earlier than 916 A. D. But during the last few years a manuscript which is apparently older has been discovered. This manuscript is now preserved in the British Museum (Oriental, 4445). According to Dr. Ginsburg¹ it is at least half a century older than the St. Petersburg Codex; he says:—Though not dated, the consonantal text with the vowel-points and accents was probably written about A. D. 820–850. The Massorah has been added about a century later by a Massoretic annotator who revised the text. The Massorah, which is here exhibited in its oldest form, frequently uses a terminology different from that employed in MSS. of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

There are a few legends on seal-stones and coins which date from an earlier period, and there is an inscription in a dialect that is almost Hebrew, the celebrated Moabite stone, recounting the exploits of Mesha, the king of Moab at the time of Ahab of Israel (B. C. 876–854). In the Siloam Inscription, however, we have, for the first time, an authentic contemporary Hebrew record.

This inscription was discovered at Jerusalem in June, 1880, in the subterranean tunnel through which the waters of the spring, '*En Sitti Maryam*, just outside the city, are conducted to the Pool of Siloam. It seems to have been written in the time of

¹ *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897), chap. xii, p. 469 ff.; p. 475, cf. plate 1 of the *Series of Fifteen Facsimiles of Manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible*, with descriptions by C. D. Ginsburg, London, 1897.

Hezekiah of Judah (B. C. 720-699), thus antedating by more than fifteen centuries the earliest Hebrew manuscript. The inscription is very brief, consisting of six lines averaging about ten words each. It is written in the archaic Hebrew character, which is similar to the script of the Phœnician inscriptions, and which is preserved in a somewhat modified form in the Penta-teuchal Recension and Targum of the Samaritans, who seceded from the Jewish community in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, about 430 B. C.

The Siloam Inscription has attracted a great deal of attention, and has been repeatedly translated. In 1882, the director of the explorations undertaken under the auspices of the *Deutsche Palästina-Verein*, Professor Guthe, succeeded in taking a plaster cast of this important monument. This cast has been often reproduced and forms the basis of all subsequent copies of the text in books dealing with Biblical Antiquities. In Professor Kautzsch's edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, there is a drawing of the inscription from the skillful pen of the great epigraphist of Strassburg, Professor Julius Euting, and the late Professor Socin, of Leipzig, published, shortly before his death, an independent copy, designed especially for the use of academic classes.¹ The most recent contribution to the study of the Siloam Inscription has been given by Dr. Lidzbarski, of Kiel, in his *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, part 1 (Giessen, 1900), p. 53. He discusses, however, only a few minor details, and does not throw much additional light on the subject.

The labors of these and of numerous other scholars have rendered our understanding of the inscription almost perfect. There are a few problems, however, which still await solution, and these problems were discussed this year in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, during the interpretation of this text.

At the beginning of the inscription, the splitting of the rock has destroyed several letters which must have formed a word referring in some way to the next following, a feminine noun meaning *tunnel* or *cutting through*. Various restorations of this word have been suggested. Professor Sayce and others would read לְהַבִּיט *behold (the tunnel)*, but this meaning does not specially suit the context. Professor Guthe suggested זֶה הֵיאֵת *this (is the*

¹ A. Socin, *Die Siloahinschrift*, Freiburg i. B., 1899 (reprinted from ZDPV. 22, 61-64).

tunnel); others, תַּמַּת *finished is (the tunnel)*, and בַּיִם *in the day of (the cutting through)*.¹ All three of these words, however, require three letters, and according to Guthe there is only space for two. It is quite possible that, instead of the feminine תַּמַּת, we should simply read the masculine תַּם, as it is not necessary in Semitic that a preceding verbal predicate should agree with its subject; cf., for example, the Biblical יְהִי מְאֲרֵת *let there be luminaries*.²

The second word of the inscription, נִקְבָּה, is the word for *tunnel*. It does not occur in Biblical Hebrew, and has usually been read נִקְבָּה, or נִקְבָּה, or נִקְבָּה, following the Aramaic נִיקְבָּה, נוקבא, *hole*, and the Syriac نِقْطَا, *perforation*. In post-Biblical Hebrew, however, the form נִקְוֵבָה *perforation, aperture*, is found, alongside of which we have the Aramaic נִקְוֵבָהָ with a similar meaning.³ We might, therefore, read נִקְוֵבָה.

The gap in the third line after מִימֵן *from the right (or south)* is usually restored מִשְׁמָאל *from the left (or north)*. This is the most natural restoration, especially as it is favored by the remains of the characters which are still visible. But Lidzbarski⁴ states that this restoration is impossible, as the letters of this word do not entirely fill the gap; there is room for another character (so, too, Socin, *l. c.*). This difficulty, however, can be easily overcome by inserting the article, and reading מְהִשְׁמָאל, even though the preceding מִימֵן is without article. We find the same construction in 2 Chron. 3, 17.

The most difficult problem in the inscription is presented by the word זרה, in line 3. This word has evidently the meaning *fissure*; but it has not yet been successfully connected with any Semitic root. Considered with regard to its form, it might be derived from a stem יִזַּר, or זָרַר, זָרַר, from which last Professor Sayce derives the word, translating *excess*, whatever that may mean in this connection. But it is not possible to obtain the meaning *fissure* from any of these stems.

¹ Cf. ZDMG. 36 (1882), 731.

² See also Gesenius Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*,²⁶ § 145, o; Kautzsch, *Gram. d. Biblisch-Aramäischen*, § 98, 2, a; Wright-De Goeje, *Arabic Gram.*,³ vol. 2, § 142; Dillmann, *Äthiopische Gram.*,² § 195 (p. 442).

³ Cf. Levy, *Neuhebräisches u. chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 3, pp. 432 b; 433 a.

⁴ *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 54.

It is strange that no one has yet called attention to the fact that the word might be derived from a stem mediæ ז , in which case we might read *ziddāh*, for *zindāh*.

The stem זז does not occur in Hebrew; but in Syriac and Arabic certain of its forms are found, the meanings of which seem to be related to the meaning *fissure*, which must be presupposed for the word in question. The original meaning of the stem זז seems to have been *to be narrow*, and from this signification the meanings of the corresponding Syriac and Arabic words can, for the most part, be readily derived.

In Syriac this stem is represented by one verbal and one nominal form. The Piel זז means first, *to make empty*, a meaning which is closely related to the original signification *to be narrow*. For instance, a water-skin might be said to be made narrow when it is emptied. The word also signifies *to deprive*, *to cut off*, which meanings are easily derivable from the first. The noun זז is the name given to a species of oversleeves worn by the priests of many of the Eastern churches, namely, of the Jacobite, Nestorian, and Armenian churches, and of some branches of the Roman Catholic church. These sleeves (Arabic زندان *zandāni*; see below, note 4) extend from the wrist to a little below the elbow, and fit close to the arm, that is to say, they are rather tight or narrow.¹

In Arabic, the forms of this stem are more numerous. The intransitive verb زنى *zanida* means *to be thirsty*, i. e., *to suffer*, *be in straits for water*. The second form زنى , corresponding to the Syriac Pael form זז , has the following meanings:—(1) *to make or render narrow, scanty*; (2) *to fill a water-skin*, i. e., *to render it tight*; cf. our slang *tight* meaning *full* in a certain special sense: *tight* and *narrow* are closely connected in meaning, e. g. a shoe that is too narrow is also too tight; moreover, in some

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. Father Oussani, of Bagdad, for the above information. The account of the זז given in Payne Smith's *The-saurus Syriacus* is not entirely clear or satisfactory. In the *Compendious Syriac Dictionary* edited by J. Payne Smith, part 1 (Oxford, 1896) we read under זז : *sleeves or maniples worn by Jacobite priests and still worn by the Christians of St. Thomas in Malabar*. For the etymology see also below, p. 59, note 4.

languages the same word is used in both meanings, e. g., German *eng*, Arabic ضيق.—(3) *to lie (mentiri)*, perhaps originally *to fill with lying speech*; cf. our slang *stuff*.—(4) *to make the fire-stick* زند *produce fire*; this meaning is plainly denominative. The V. form تزند is defined by Lane as *to be or become straitened in one's bosom*; *to be or become embarrassed so as to be unable to reply*; *to be angry*, all of which significations are easily derivable from the meaning *to be narrow*.¹ Moreover, the two sticks which are used to produce fire² and the two bones of the forearm, the radius (كرسوع, the outer bone on the thumb side of the forearm) and the ulna (كوع),³ are called زندان, possibly because they are close together, fit into each other.⁴

The meaning of these Syriac and Arabic forms, therefore, certainly seem to point to a meaning *to be narrow* for the root זרה, and from such a root the derivation of a noun meaning *fissure* is perfectly natural. Consequently the word זרה may be read זרה, or perhaps זרה, representing an original form *zindāh* or *zandah*.

As it is sometimes a great help towards the understanding of a text to study its equivalent in some cognate language, and an

¹ The forms I (transitive) and IV also occur, but their meanings are not important in this connection.

² The lower stick (زند, Greek ἐσχάρα) is called عفار, and the upper stick (زندة, Greek τριπτανον) مرخ. According to Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, I, 76, عفار is a secondary modification of عثار, and this may be connected with the name of the goddess عشتרת, while مرخ corresponds to مريح.

³ These two terms denote especially the carpal ends of the radius and ulna, respectively. The real name for radius is ساعد, and ذراع for ulna. Both ساعد and ذراع are, however, used *promiscue* for forearm. In Syriac the two bones of the forearm are known as صند وحن.

⁴ Professor Haupt, however, thinks that the two bones of the forearm are called زندان on account of the space or slit between them, and that זרה sleeves must be derived from this word; cf. Ger. *Ärmel* from *Arm*, and Lat. *manica* (French *manche*) from *manus*, Greek *χείρις* from *χείρ*, Syr. عفا glove = Heb. כף *hand*; etc.

Assyrian translation of the Siloam Inscription was prepared during the past session, in the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, it may perhaps not be out of place to append this translation here.

ASSYRIAN TRANSLATION OF THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION.

Šuktul šipir pilši-ma, k'ām epšet pilši : adī kallape aqqullāti-šunu ušelā išten miḫrat išten-ma, adī šalāšti ammāti ana napluši, išmū qāl šāsi ana šāni, aššu batqu ibši ina kāpi ištu iltāni u ištu šāti-ma; ina āmi ša pilša ušaklitū kallape upallišū ana tarḫi axā-miš, aqqullu miḫrat aqqulli-ma, me illikū ištu māḫi ana agammi lem šinā me ammat-ma, me ammat ibši melū ša kāpi elī reši ša kallape.

For the Assyrian stem פליש and its Hebrew equivalent פלם in Pss. 58, 3; 78, 50, see the Critical Notes on Proverbs in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 39, l. 5. The end of the first line of the Hebrew text of the Siloam Inscription must be restored as follows:—בעור הניף החצבם את. In the second line we must read after להנקה י בעור שלש אמת. Instead of *ana agammi* = אל הברכה, in the fifth line of the inscription, we might also use *ana mekalti*; cf. מִיכַל הַמַּיִם 2 S. 17, 20 (contrast Lōhr *ad loc.*) and Ethiopic *mē'qāl*, pl. *mē'qālāt* (e. g. Dillm., *Chrest. Aeth.*, p. 2, l. 14); the Ethiopic word, which was pronounced *mēqāl*, should be spelled with א; the stem is אכל or כל to hold, cf. בארת נשברים אשר לא יכלו Jer. 2, 13. The following Assyrian word *lem* (= לַאִם; cf. *rešu* = ראש, *ḡenu* = צֶאֱן, etc.)¹ corresponds to Heb. אֶלֶף; cf. Delitzsch's *Assyr. Lesestücke*⁴ (Leipzig, 1900), p. 171, s. v. לאם and *ibid.*, p. 32, l. 1; see also ZA. 12, 318. For 1200 we might also say *šinā ner* (νηπος); cf. Haupt, *The Assyrian E-vowel*, p. 9, 2.

¹ See Haupt, *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze* (Leipzig. 1879), p. 67, n. 1; *The Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 21.

The Two Unidentified Geographical Names in the Moabite Stone.—By REV. T. C. FOOTE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the details of the discovery of the Moabite stone in 1868. The historical allusions and geographical names which we find in this inscription of Mesha tally so well with the O. T. that a suspicion could be aroused as to the genuineness of the stone.¹ Almost all the geographical names have been identified with places mentioned in the O. T.

Two names, however, have not yet been satisfactorily explained: שרן and מחרת (or שחרת). They are classified by Smend and Socin² under tribal names. Perhaps the true explanation of these names is to be found by taking them not as *nomina propria* but as *appellativa*, as was suggested in the Semitic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University during the past year.

The connection in which the names occur is as follows: The king of Israel had built the city of Ataroth, probably the place mentioned in Num. 32, 34 as built by the Gadites. King Mesha captured it and slew all the people; afterwards re-peopling it with the men of שרן the men of מחרת (or שחרת). As was the custom with Assyrian kings when they captured or built a city and then peopled it with persons from another locality, so it appears that king Mesha, after destroying the inhabitants of Ataroth, peopled it again with men of שרן and men of מחרת (or שחרת).

שרן plain is the name generally applied to the strip of low land on the Mediterranean coast stretching from Joppa to Cæsarea. But in 1 Chr. 5, 16 it is applied, without the use of the article, to some locality in Gilead east of the Jordan. A comparison of the Greek versions³ shows that the word is uncertain and the place could hardly have been a city of any size. However, it is not necessary to take it as a proper name, but it may be regarded as an appellative referring to the plain which lies north of the

¹ Cf. Schlottmann, *Die Siegestsäule Mesa's* (Halle, 1870), pp. 4 and 5.

² *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab* (Freiburg i. B., 1886), p. 33.

³ וּבְכָל-מְנַרְשֵׁי שְׂרוֹן עַל-תּוֹצְאוֹתָם; LXX. Καὶ πάντα τὰ περίχωρα Σαρὼν ἕως ἔξόδου, Ἀλία καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀφορισμένοις Σαρὼν ἐπὶ τῶν διεξόδων αὐτῶν.

tableland of Moab. This plateau of Moab is referred to in Deut. 3, 10; 4, 43; Josh. 13, 9, etc., as מִישׁוֹר, a portion of the inheritance of Reuben.

The land of Moab lies east of the Dead Sea, being about 50 miles long by 30 wide. It is divided by the deep valley of the Arnon, now the Wady el-Môjib, north of which, on the high plateau, most of the cities of Moab lay. This region was known as מִישׁוֹר *table land* (in the A. V. *plain country*)—"the Sharon of Eastern Palestine (as Major-General Wilson says)¹ which extended beyond the river Arnon, through Moab to the mountain country of Edom. The whole district where not very rocky is covered with grass and affords excellent pasturage. It was in the rich upland pastures and extensive forests of Gilead and Bashan north of the Arnon that the tribes of Reuben and Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh took up their abode."

With one exception מִישׁוֹר refers to the plain or table land east of the Jordan, apparently in contradistinction to the rocky soil and more broken ground on the west. But in 1 K. 20, 23-25 מִישׁוֹר seems to apply to the plain of Sharon west of the Jordan. These terms שָׂרׁוֹן and מִישׁוֹר are not necessarily fixed localities but may be applied as appellatives, and hence the אִישׁ שָׂרׁוֹן of the inscription need not mean men of a place called Sharon, nor need it be taken as the name of some special tribe, but may simply denote the Men of the Plain, valley men in distinction from mountain or plateau men. Hence a *nomen appellativum*. If the objection be made to this explanation that one would expect יוֹשֵׁב instead of אִישׁ, as in יוֹשֵׁב הָאָרֶץ in Gen. 50, 11, or יוֹשְׁבֵי הַהַר in Josh. 13, 6, it is sufficient to note that the dialect of Moab does not always conform to the Hebrew idiom. But in fact the identical use of אִישׁ does occur in the O. T., e. g. Neh. 3, 22, אֲנָשֵׁי הַכֶּבֶד *men of the plain*, Gen. 25, 27, אִישׁ שָׂרָה *man of the field*.

In the case of the other name, it is not entirely certain whether the first consonant is שׁ or מ. It was first read שׁ, notably by Clermont-Ganneau. Later, Ginsburg read מ, thinking of Machærus (מַכְבֵּר, מַכוּוֹר), which is an impossible identification.²

¹ See the Bible Atlas, S.P.C.K. 1900, Tristram's *Land of Moab*, and Buhl, *Geographie des Alten Palästina*.

² Cf. Diestel in *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie* 16, 234.

Since Ginsburg, however, the character has usually been read מ. The difference between the ש and מ in the script of the Moabite stone is practically only the additional down stroke of the מ. Now Dr. Lidzbarski, of Kiel, has recently published in part 1 of his *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* (Giessen, 1900) p. 6, the result of his examination of the reconstruction of the Moabite Stone in the Louvre, and also of the squeezes, and states that the plaster cast only runs as far as the place where the down stroke of the מ would be, if it were a מ. He gives it as his opinion, however, that it is a מ rather than a ש. The earlier reading of ש by Clermont Ganneau, adopted by Nöldeke, is under the circumstances equally possible. But it makes no difference whether we read ש or מ if the word is taken as an appellative.

In the case of ש we should have שְׁחַרְתְּ fem. of שַׁחַר *morn-*
ing, Arabic سَحْرَة *suhre*. The form שַׁחַרְתְּ, it is to be noted, occurs in the next line of the inscription, in the phrase מִבְּקַעַת שַׁחַרְתְּ *from the breaking of the morning*. We have then such an expression as בְּנֵי קִדְמִים *Sons of the East* i. e. the Bedouins of the desert.

But if it be preferred to read מַחַרְתְּ we have a word meaning *front* and hence the *east*, identical with Assyrian *mirrat* = קִדְמִים, so that אִשׁ מַחַרְתְּ would again be the exact equivalent of בְּנֵי קִדְמִים *Sons of the East*, the Bedouins.

The chief point is that the names are probably not *nomina propria* but *appellativa*, and the reading of the lines would then be: "I settled in it (i. e. Ataroth) men of the plain and men of the east," i. e. Bedouins.

The Old Testament Expression zanáh ahrê.—By REV. T. C. FOOTE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

THE object of this investigation is to trace the historical development of the metaphorical use of *zanáh* and to determine the Hebrew feeling for this word.

There are over 25 instances of the metaphorical use of *zanáh* and its derivatives. To trace the historical development in the use of this word, the various passages where it occurs must be considered in chronological order.

The oldest document that can be traced in the literary analysis of the O. T. is J, i. e. the Judaic document, the oldest stratum of which could hardly have been written later than 850 B. C., or about the time of Jehoshaphat of Judah (B. C. 873-84). This may be called the *terminus ad quem*, but the *terminus a quo* can only be fixed with certainty by the date of the event or person written about. There are considerations, such as the circumstantiality of a narrative, its vividness, or the contrary, that enable a critic to judge whether a narrative is contemporaneous with the event described or later. Canon Driver thinks that one cannot with probability ascribe literary activity to the period preceding the monarchy, or about 1000 B. C. But the fact that the Hebrews adopted the language of the Canaanites, in all probability about the time of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, 1400 B. C., shows at least the possibility of a literature antedating the Monarchy. The fact that the earliest documents of the O. T. belong to the golden age of Hebrew literature is not without significance in this connection. The other old document is E, i. e. the Ephraimitic narrative, and is, perhaps, a hundred years later than J, as regards its writing. Both these documents have also various strata. That J and E are combined in the Hexateuch, does not affect their age inasmuch as the extracts are taken in their original form. The editorial comments are, as a rule, easily distinguishable, and belong to the time of Deuteronomy, about 630 B. C. The dates of the prophecies, when authentic, are the most accurate that can be assigned to any passage. The Priests' code, the earliest stratum of which is the Law of

Holiness (Lev. 16-26), forms the skeleton of the Hexateuch and is assigned to the first half of the 6th century B. C., though the use of tradition in its composition is probably large.

About two centuries later than the Priests' code, perhaps 332 B. C., the books of Chronicles were written, at a time when Hebrew was no longer commonly understood.

The passages containing the word under consideration range from J to Chronicles. The earliest reference is Ex. 34, 15-16. **יָהוָה** forbids Moses to have anything to do with the Canaanites "lest you make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and one call you, and you eat of his sacrifice and you take his daughters for your sons, and his daughters go a whoring after their gods and cause your sons to go a whoring after their gods." A similar passage occurs in Num. 25, 1. As to the age of these passages, it must be borne in mind that the writing down of an institution or law may be many years later than the time when it went into effect. The phrase in question is equivalent to worship, although it may have had a literal sense.

The next time the phrase occurs is in Hosea 743 B. C., where, as has often been pointed out, the sad events in the prophet's own experience may have led him to regard idolatry as spiritual adultery. This idea is very plain in Hosea (743 B. C.), Jeremiah (628 B. C.), and Ezekiel (593 B. C.), being indicated by an additional phrase, such as **מִתַּחַת אֱלֹהֵיהֶם** from *under their God* or **יְהוָה מֵאַחֲרַי** from *after Jahveh* or **מֵעַל אֱלֹהֶיךָ** from *upon thy God*.

But almost contemporaneous with Hosea, perhaps 700 B. C., is a passage in Isaiah 23, 17, 18 a, probably a later addition to the work of Isaiah, where *zanáh* is used with no allusion to idolatry, but rather absorption in mercantile intercourse. "It shall come to pass at the end of 70 years that the Lord will visit Tyre and she shall return to her hire and go a whoring with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth; and her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the Lord." Again in Is. 1, 21, *zanáh* is used of connivance with thieves and murderers on the part of Jerusalem.

The next passage has to do with the Ephod, Jud. 8, 27 b, "and all Israel went a whoring after it there," which editorial comment is to be referred to the time of Deut. (621 B. C.). I have discussed the Ephod at some length in a special treatise and

have shown that it is not an idol. Most of the recent commentators, however, believe Gideon's ephod to have been an idol of some kind¹; but as that idea is largely drawn from this phrase, I will pass over it, merely stating that I believe it to have been what the later ephod was *viz.*, a pouch containing the sacred lots; and that this passage is to be compared with Hosea 4, 12, where the spirit of whoredom seems to refer to the use of superstitious oracles.

Jud. 8, 33 refers to the people going a whoring after Baalim. 2 Kings, 9, 22 alludes to the whoredoms of Jezebel. These passages refer to idolatry, but there is no allusion to spiritual adultery, as in Hosea and Jeremiah.

Nahum 3, 4 refers to the whoredoms of Nineveh the well favored harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that selleth nations through her whoredoms. Here the reference is to political intrigue, as in Ezek. 16, 26 and 23, 30, where the intrigues of Jerusalem with Egypt and Assyria are depicted under the figure of prostitution with a minuteness of detail that shocks our sense of decency.

Ps. 73, 27 shows through its parallelism that the phrase indicates separation from God. "Lo, they that are far from Thee shall perish: Thou hast destroyed all them that go a whoring from Thee."

In Jer. 3, 2, 9, Judah's political alliances are referred to, as well as idolatry.

In Deut. 31, 16 we have the significant expression "to go a whoring after *strange* gods." If "to go a whoring" means idolatry, what is the need of any limitation? Compare this with the expression in Jud. 2, 17, to go a whoring after *other* gods. Why *other* gods, unless it be to indicate that idolatry was meant? The expression אלהים אחרים *other gods* is used 64 times, and it never follows any verb which could not be applied to God. Why does it not require that a good sense shall here be given to *zanáh*? We find, e. g., the expression to "serve other gods," meaning other than the true God; to sacrifice to other than the true God, etc., so to go a whoring after *other* gods means other

¹The view that Gideon's ephod was an *agalma* was advanced by Pres. Moore in his Commentary on Judges and in vol. 2 of Cheyne-Black's *Ency. Biblica*, 1901. I am glad to be able to state that he has more recently abandoned this opinion.

than the true God, and requires *zanáh* to be used *in bonam partem*.

Two passages occur in the Law of Holiness, Lev. 17, 7 and 20 5-6, where the allusion is to superstitious practices concerning the שְׂעִירִים *Se'irim*, rendered by the AV. "devils," by the RV. "he-goats"; and reference is also made to running after a man who sacrificed to Molech, or to indulging in witchcraft and following wizards. Again, in Num. 14, 33 and 15, 39 from the Priests' code, the same idea of running after the mind and eyes, i. e. self-indulgence, fickleness and instability, is seen. The blue fringes were made that the Israelities might remember all the commands of JAHVEH and do them, and not go about after their mind and eyes, after which they went a whoring. Then in Ps. 106, 39, which is post-Exilic, the same idea is seen of following their own will rather than God's will.

"They were polluted with their works and went a whoring after their own inventions." It might be idolatry, or it might be superstition, or merely some fad or self-indulgences.

Finally there are two passages in the late writings, 1 Chr. 5, 25 and 2 Chr. 21, 11, which are in the style of Hosea and Ezekiel, and were possibly drawn from them.

We have seen then that the metaphorical sense of *zanáh* was first applied to the worship of the heathen. We cannot doubt that it had some counterpart, at some time, in their heathenish rites. It was then taken up by the prophet Hosea (743 B. C.) to teach the Israelites that idolatry was spiritual unfaithfulness. Even in Hosea, the application was probably partly literal, as may be seen from a comparison of the expression in Hos. 9, 1: "Thou has loved hire upon all corn-floors" with several references in Frazer's *Golden Bough*. In this sense of spiritual unfaithfulness given to *zanáh*, Hosea is followed by Jeremiah, but with a distinct widening of the application to include political alliances. This widening had already taken place in passages where there was no reference to unfaithfulness, as in Is. 23, 17, 18 a, where the thought is mercantile alliances, and in Nahum, political alliances, and that, not between the chosen people and heathen, but between heathen nations. This idea was then applied by Ezekiel to spiritual unfaithfulness in political alliances between Jerusalem and heathen nations, indicating a development of the Theocratic idea to which this charge of unfaithfulness corresponds. The date of Ezekiel, the beginning of the 6th

century B. C., is the time when the rise of the Theocratic idea is to be seen in the Deuteronomistic editors, the full development of which is found in the Priests' code. But in Ezekiel there is a still further widening of the use of *zanáh* to include any alienation of the mind from God—a ceasing to think wholly of Him, perhaps a spirit of worldliness or indulgence in secular pleasures. So in a Psalm of this period, the idea is merely separation. Finally in the later passages in the Law of H. and the Priests' code *zanáh* is used of any fickle running after one thing or another.

Evidently the English rendering "to go a whoring" is entirely inapplicable to more than the earliest passages. When used by Hos., Jer., and Ezek. and in 2 Ch. 5, 25, which passage seems to be in imitation of the prophets, the rendering "go astray after" or "run in faithlessness" as used in *The Polychrome Bible*, brings out the idea with accuracy. But what of the historical passages or those in which there is no idea of unfaithfulness? To render these accurately, not only the words of the writer must be understood, but the feeling of the writer for those words. Now, any word in English which would convey however remotely the original or literal significance of *zanáh*, could only be used in a bad sense. But was this the case with the Hebrews? The fact that prophets like Jeremiah and Ezekiel would wish to use such elaborately and minutely developed metaphorical illustrations shows that the feeling of the Hebrews for such a metaphor was free from any intrinsic shame. Hence we are prepared to find that a metaphorical use of *zanáh* may contain no idea of inherent shame, representing only an intense devotion to, or absorption in anything, without implying condemnation if rightly directed. Thus in Deut. 23, 19 the hire of a harlot, **אתנן זונה** is stated to be an abomination unto the Lord—being taken literally; also in Mic. 1, 7 the images in Samaria are called the 'hire of a harlot,' taken metaphorically but condemned as idolatry; while in Is. 23, 17 the hire of the harlot, using the same expression, is called **קדש ליהוה** "holiness to the Lord," being taken metaphorically, but of the gains of commerce carried on by a God-fearing people. One may compare in English the different ideas conveyed by the word "enthusiasm," or, in the English of the King James' Version, the use of the verb "to lust"—in Deut. 14, 2: "Boy, whatever thy soul lusteth after, eat before the Lord and rejoice,"—with the frequent use of the verb to

indicate sin in the N. T. So in the Prayer Book we find the expression "sinful lusts." Then in Jud. 2, 17 occurs the expression "to go a whoring after other gods," which is paralleled in the next verse but one with the expression "to follow other gods." The significance of the expression "strange gods" and "other gods" has already been referred to, as if the use of *zanáh* was not in itself a condemnation. In other passages already mentioned in Lev. and Num. the phrase indicates merely a running after anything, as we might speak of a temporary fad; an eager following of whatever caught the fancy or pleased the eyes, a self-indulgence; and so a fickleness and instability.

The original meaning of *zanáh*, like Assyrian *zanānu*, may be that of fulness and luxuriousness,¹ developing like the Latin *luxuria* or *luxuries* which in the Scholastic Latin of the Middle Ages has a sense akin to *fornicatio*. It may be noted that a number of verbs in Hebrew seemed to the Masorites too objectionable to be read, e. g. שגל,² and were replaced by a קרי but *zanáh* is not one of them.

We may conclude then that among the Hebrews *the metaphorical use of zanáh did not convey any opprobrium*, but always requires a context to determine its significance; and therefore, such a phrase as the AV. uses is not only offensive to our ears but fails to do justice to the Hebrew, which requires a word having a good sense, such as, e. g., to follow, run after, desire, etc.

¹ Cf. Crit. Notes on Judges in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 67, l. 44.

² The word שגל is not derived from this word, but must be connected with שגל dam and Assyr. šigréti 'ladies of the harem'; see Crit. Notes on Ezra-Neh. in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 66, l. 46; p. 67, l. 11. Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestüchs*⁴, p. 187.

Gideon's Water-lappers.—By Rev. Wm. B. McPHERSON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

THE familiar story of Gideon's campaign against the Midianites—nomad Arabs of the Syro-Arabian Desert, southeast of Palestine—tells how this Manassite hero gathered a force of 32,000 men and led them to the Plain of Jezreel, where were encamped the oppressors of Israel.

This force, however, was too great for JHVH's purpose, and after sending home all the timid, which brought down the number to 10,000, He said to Gideon: "The people are still too many; lead them down to the water that I may separate them for thee there So he led the people down to the water; and JHVH said to Gideon: All those who lap water with their tongues, as a dog laps, thou shalt set by themselves; and all those who kneel down to drink, thou shalt set by themselves. And the number of those who lapped, putting their hand to their mouth, amounted to three hundred; all the rest of the people knelt down to drink. And JHVH said to Gideon: By the three hundred men who lapped I will deliver you and will give Midian into your power; all the rest of the people shall return whence they came (Jud. 7, 1-7).

Although this incident is familiar to all readers of the Bible, the significance of the test does not seem to be quite clear; cf. President Moore's remarks on this passage in *The Polychrome Bible* (New York, 1898). In his admirable commentary on *Judges* (New York, 1895), p. 202, Dr. Moore assumes that those whose drinking is compared to the lapping of a dog threw themselves flat on the ground with their face to the water, and actually lapped with their tongue. In accordance with this idea he considers the expression **בִּידָם אֵל פִּיהֶם** *putting their hand to their mouth*, in the middle of verse 6, to be a misplaced gloss, and transposes it to the end of the verse; thus making it refer to those who knelt down to drink, because he thinks, to lap with the tongue, and to raise water to the mouth with the hand, are the two different ways of drinking which are here distinguished. This transposition was first suggested by the Dutch scholar A. van Doorninck in his contributions to the textual criticism of

Jud. 1-16.¹ Professor Budde, in his book on the composition and structure of Judges and Samuel,² suggested that the clause *putting their hands to their mouth* should be transferred to the end of verse 5; but in his commentary on Judges in Professor Marti's series (Freiburg i. B., 1897) he adopts the view of Dr. Moore, placing it at the end of verse 6.

This explanation of the passage is also given by Stade in an article published in vol. 16 of his *Zeitschrift* (Giessen, 1896), where he says on p. 185: One category lap water with their tongues like dogs; the others kneel and draw water. It is further adopted by Nowack in the latest commentary on Judges (Göttingen, 1900), in his *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*.

The transposition of the clause *putting their hands to their mouth*, advocated by all these distinguished commentators, is based on the opinion that it is at variance with the expression *with their tongue* in the preceding verse; that men who lap like a dog cannot be said to lap putting their hand to their mouth; but if any change is to be made, it would seem more natural, as was suggested during the interpretation of the passage in the Semitic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University, to transpose the expression בלשונו *with their tongue*; a human being can hardly lap water with his tongue; the only way a man could imitate the lapping of a dog would be by using his hand instead of the tongue of the dog.

An excellent illustration of this peculiar method of hasty drinking was cited by Stade in his article on the subject mentioned above. He quotes from the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* (Oct. 1895), where Mr. A. Moody Stuart says: "One afternoon, in riding leisurely out of Funchal, in the Island of Madeira, there came towards the town a man in the light garb of a courier from the mountains running at the top of his speed; as he approached me, he stopped to quench his thirst at a fountain, in a way that at once suggested the lapping of Gideon's men, and I drew up my pony to observe his action more exactly; but he was already away as on the wings of the wind, leaving me to wonder and admire. With one knee bent before him, and the other limb stretched behind in the same attitude as he ran and with his face upward toward heaven, he threw

¹ *Bijdrage tot de Tekstkritiek van Richteren i-xvi*, 1879.

² *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau* (Giessen, 1890).

the water apparently with his fingers in a continuous stream through his open lips without bringing his hand nearer to his mouth than perhaps a foot and a half, and so satisfied his thirst in a few minutes. It is true, Stade thinks, this manner of drinking has not the "slightest resemblance to the lapping of a dog," but such a conclusion seems unwarranted. When a dog laps water he drinks hastily in contrast to the slow drinking of a horse or other animals that drink with their mouth in the water. This seems to be exactly the point of resemblance between the hasty drinking of the courier and the lapping of a dog, thus making the expression *those who lap water as a dog laps* equivalent to *those who drink hastily*.

This is the explanation given by Josephus in his *Ant.*, V, 6, 3, who says, the distinctive feature of the drinking of those whose drinking is compared to the lapping of a dog, lay in the haste with which they drank; but he attributes this haste to fear of the enemy or to laziness.

Keil, in his commentary on Judges (Leipzig, 1874), says the water-lappers are the most valiant and courageous of the warriors, who, before a battle, do not take their time in kneeling down at a brook and drinking leisurely; but standing, with their armor on, they draw some water with their hands to strengthen themselves for the fray, and then they rush against the enemy. But it is not necessary to suppose that they drank standing, or that they drew water with their hands and afterwards lapped it out of¹ their hands with their tongue like dogs. Dogs do not draw water with their forepaws, and lap it afterwards from their forepaws.

Bertheau in his commentary (Leipzig, 1883) says on this passage, the 300 men do not take time to kneel down and drink with ease but draw water with their hands, standing probably in full armor, and then lap the water with their tongues like dogs. They are eager to fight and always ready for it, they do not give up their warlike attitude for a moment. They did not drink out of pitchers or out of their helmets, but standing, drawing the water out of their hands.

In his note on Jnd. 7, 6, in *The Polychrome Bible*, Dr. Moore suggests that those who lapped like dogs were thus discovered to be rude, fierce men.

¹ For this interpretation of נִלְכַּח see Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁶ § 119, n footnote.

In all these comments the element of haste is recognized as the distinctive feature in the drinking of those who are said to lap, and this view of the case is borne out by the Arabic proverbial expression for a sudden, hasty war, *a campaign like the lapping of a wolf* (غزو كولغ الذئب; see Mez's paper cited below). Even in English we have a suggestion of the element of haste in the Scotch idiom *a lick of sugar, a lick of oatmeal*, etc. With this is to be compared the German *schlabbern* or *schlubbern*, 'to lap as a dog in drinking,' and its English equivalents *slabber, slobber, slubber*, and *slaver*, 'to eat hastily or in a slovenly manner.'

In contrast with those who *lapped*, i.e. drank hastily, are כל אשר כרעו על ברכיו לשתות *those who bowed down on their knees to drink*. But כרע does not mean simply *to bow down*; it meant originally, as is quite clear in Arabic, *to put the mouth into the water, to take up water from its place* (in a spring, stream, well, or a vessel) *with the mouth* (كرع في الماء أو في الإناء إذا تناوله بفيه) (من موضعه). This specific meaning of כרע¹ has been pointed out by Professor Mez, of Basle, in a note on Jud. 7, 5, 6 published in the current number of Stade's *Zeitschrift*.

This method of drinking may, of course, be combined with a kneeling position; in fact, among the rural population of certain parts of our country it is quite commonly done. I have often seen the negroes in our Southern States drink in just this manner. Coming to some spring or to the bank of some running stream, they throw themselves down on their knees, and stooping over, with part of the weight resting upon their hands, until they can thrust the mouth into the water, they take long, eager draughts until their thirst is fully satisfied. The hands are not used to dip up water and convey it to the mouth, but to support the body, so that the drinker can bring his mouth into contact with the water and yet be in no danger of falling over. In other instances where the nature of the ground makes it impracticable to use the hands to support the body, the drinker throws himself flat on the earth, and so brings his mouth down to the level of the water. That כרע may have this latter meaning, *to lie down flat*, is shown in Job 31, 10:

¹ In the same way כרע meant originally, like the corresponding כרע, *to go down to the water* (cf. Jud. 7, 5) and Assy. *kašādu* 'to arrive' (a denominative verb from *kišādu* 'shore') *to land*; cf. Haupt in Schrader's *KAT.*² 506, s. v.

טַחֵן לְאַחַר אִשְׁתִּי וְעֲלֶיהָ יִכְרַעוּן אַחֲרַיִן ;
Let my wife grind (do the lowest service) to another,
And let others lie down upon her.

The position assumed is immaterial: the person may kneel, or he may stretch himself flat on the ground; the essential point is that he be able to reach the water with his mouth.

It is possible that *עַל כַּרְכִּי* upon his knees is a later scribal expansion; and, according to the familiar Hebrew idiom of expressing the main idea by the infinitive following the finite verb, we must translate *אֲשֶׁר כָּרַע לַשְׁתּוֹת*, not *who (bows down or rather) puts his mouth in the water to drink*, but *who drinks putting his mouth in the water*.¹ This gives us the point of contrast, and the test by which the men were divided: those who knelt down and drank leisurely like a horse, and those who drank hastily as a dog that laps.

Similar tests by water are not wanting in Semitic literature: in the pseudographic Book of *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, it is related that the prophet Jeremiah was directed to lead the Jewish exiles in Babylonia out to the Jordan to find out by the water of the Jordan who was to return to Jerusalem and who should remain in Babylon.² In the story of Bilqis, the Arabic name of the Queen of Sheba, one of her devices for proving the wisdom of Solomon was to send him a number of her followers, the men dressed as women, the women as men, to see if he could

¹ So, too, *דָּבַר לְאָמַר* he said speaking, i. e. orally, not in writing (*בְּמַכְתָּב*); see Crit. Notes on Numbers, in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 53, n. 1.

² See Dillmann's *Chrestomathia Aethiopia*, p. 9, l. 25; p. 121, ll. 9, 14. For *Iórdânôs* we would expect *Ēfrâṭēs*; but the author of the book is no doubt responsible for *Jordan* in this connection. See also J. Rendel Harris' edition of the Greek text of this Christian apocalypse (London, 1889) p. 57 (6, 23; cf. 8, 2, 4): *Δοκιμάσεις δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου· ὁ μὴ ἀκούων φανερὸς γενήσεται· τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον ἐστὶ τῆς μεγάλης σφραγίδος.* At the end of the Ethiopic text of Baruch's letter we must, with Professor Haupt, read *zaia'ábí*, and two lines above, *fěnôtómû* must be canceled as a corrupt dittogram of the following *fětnómû*. At the beginning of the letter, *ba'enta* can hardly be explained as an equivalent of *أما بعد* (see Crit. Notes on Ezra-Nehemiah in *The Polychrome Bible*, p. 62, l. 14); it is probably nothing but a corruption of *kamazé*; cf. *Chr. Aeth.*, p. 11, l. 3. In the seventh line of the letter (*Chr. Aeth.*, p. 9, l. 17) we must substitute *nagára* for *gabrá*; and in the following line, *em'abîi' étôn* must be inserted between *Qēbc* and *ēsât*.

discover their sex. The king ordered basins of water brought in, and noticing that some poured the water gently over their arms and faces, concluded that they were women; while he knew that the others who boldly dashed the water over themselves were men.¹

The text of Jud. 7, 5, 6 nowhere states that those who lapped lay down on the ground to do so; this is an arbitrary assumption on the part of those who suppose that Gideon's followers actually lapped with their tongues. Much more probably they remained upon their feet, simply bending down until they could reach the water and dip it up with their hands as is explained in verse 6. To drink *putting the mouth into the water*, a man puts aside his weapons, ceases to be on the lookout for an enemy, drinks slowly and so deeply as to produce a feeling of heaviness. On the other hand, he who *laps*, using his hand to convey the water to his mouth as a dog uses his tongue, may hold his weapons in his right hand while using his left to dip up the water, and naturally drinks much more hastily than the man who gets down on his knees and sucks up water with his mouth.

As we have seen, the transposition of the expression **בִּידָם אֶל-פִּיהֶם** *putting their hand to their mouth* in Jud. 7, 6 is unnecessary; it is sufficient to transpose **בְּלִשׁוֹנוֹ** *with the tongue* in the preceding verse, inserting it after **הַכֶּלֶב** *the dog*, as a man cannot lap water with his tongue.² Then the text would read: **יְהוָה** said to Gideon, All those who lap water as a dog laps with his tongue, thou shalt set by themselves. And all those who drink (like horses) putting their mouth into the water thou shalt set by themselves. And the number of the water-lappers, i. e. those who drank hastily, conveying the water to their mouth with their hands, was 300 men: all the rest of the people drank (like horses) putting their mouths into the water.

¹ See Socin's *Arabic Grammar*, English edition (Karlsruhe, 1885), p. 63, ll. 11 ff. of the Chrestomathy; Brünnow's *Chrestomathy of Arabic Prose-Pieces* (Berlin, 1895), p. 14, ll. 16 ff. Cf. Gustav Rösch, *Die Königin von Saba als Königin Bilqis* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 32, 49.

² It is possible, however, that **בְּלִשׁוֹנוֹ . בִּידָם אֶל פִּיהֶם** are merely subsequent scribal expansions.

An Early Egyptian Cylinder.—By MR. JAMES T. DENNIS,
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

WHILE on a visit to Egypt a few years ago, I came into possession of a very interesting stone cylinder. I obtained it from a native at the town of Akhmim, not far from Abydos; and the recent discoveries of early Egyptian civilization in that locality, together with the archaic character of the figures engraved on the cylinder, lead me to refer it to a very early period.

In length the cylinder is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches; surface measurements $1\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; and it is carved roughly out of a brownish, somewhat porous stone resembling steatite. Through the center is an irregularly-bored hole about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter, and the surface is engraved with seven curious designs. The late Dr. Brugsch-Bey, to whom I showed it on returning to Cairo several weeks later, told me it was a genuine antique, and very rare; and Dr. W. Max Müller, of Philadelphia, to whom I sent a wax impression, concurs, but thinks it merely pictographic and that there are no signs that can be read.



It is difficult to determine where the pictures begin, but they occur in the following order.—Fig. 1. Apparently a donkey, or some long-eared quadruped, facing to the left. The forelegs are represented by mere dashes, but the hind legs by double lines, showing some idea of outline on the part of the carver.

Above the back is a figure (No. 2) resembling a bow, with a short arrow, not barbed, pendant from a cord.—Figure 3 cannot be identified,—a long object pointed at the lower end, the other end apparently an open mouth, with two small horns on the left side: it is crossed by three parallel strokes, each terminating on the right in a three-pronged barb.—Above this is a rough cross (Fig. 4) resembling the NEIT sign in the name of King Mer-Neit, lately discovered at Abydos.—Following this figure, we find (Fig. 5) a roughly formed semi-circle, the ends joined by a line, and the whole crossed by what is apparently an arrow ending in a large round head, pointing downward.—Beneath, and a little to the right, is Fig. 6: the only one that approaches a known hieroglyphic sign—an ANKH sign of life.—Above this occurs the last figure on the cylinder—a lozenge-shaped design, crossed by two lines from corner to corner. The right end of this figure lies between the head and forefeet of the quadruped first mentioned.

Whether the cylinder was an amulet—to bring good fortune, perhaps, in hunting—or for what purpose it was intended, I am not at present prepared to say. I have gladly granted permission to Dr. W. Max Müller to publish the cylinder in the *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, of Berlin.

A Rare Royal Cartouche.—By MR. JAMES T. DENNIS, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

IN view of the fact that the past two or three years have seen several new names added to the list of the rulers of Ancient Egypt, I venture to present a description of a scarab from my collection, obtained by me recently in Egypt, which apparently bears the cartouche of a king heretofore unknown. To what dynasty it belongs cannot be affirmed with certainty; but most probably it comes somewhere in the Middle Empire.

The scarab itself is a fraction over an inch in length, and rather flatter than are most of the scarabs I have seen. The inscription and all the carvings, front and back, are deeply incised; and, in places, bitumen still adheres to the surface. The extreme blackness of this incrustation and the general style of the workmanship are among the causes which have led me to place it between the XII and XVIII dynasties. It was obtained by me near Bedrashên, a small village above Cairo not far from the ruins of Memphis.

The upper third of the inscription is taken up with a very conventionalized form of the bee (BTTI), the title used by the Pharaohs. The wings of the bee are triangular, and are detached from the thorax, as is also the hinder part of the insect. Beneath this sign, down the center of the scarab, stands the symbol of *stability*, the Nilometer, phonetically DED. Beneath this, and conforming to the curve of the base of the scarab, is the sign for *lord*, the basket NEB. The signs written on both sides of the Nilometer are the same, and are written beneath the bee; they are the chessboard, phonetically MEN, written with the complementary *n* following; and beneath this are two circles. If this be the name of the king, it should be accompanied by another sign, *viz.*, that for STN, *king*, in front of the bee; and in fact,



although the scarab is broken here, there is sufficient space for this sign between the bee and the margin of the scarab, and the traces of another character are actually visible. The whole is surrounded by a rough beading, which is quite rare on scarabs, but has been found on a few of the Middle Empire, thus furnishing another reason for assigning it to that period of Egyptian history.

The Modern Chaldeans and Nestorians, and the Study of Syriae among them.—By REV. GABRIEL OUSSANI, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

MUCH has been written about the modern Chaldeans and Nestorians of Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia in the works of Rich,¹ Boré,² Ainsworth,³ Perkins,⁴ Grant,⁵ Layard,⁶ Badger,⁷ Martin,⁸ Rassam,⁹ Sachau,¹⁰ and Müller-Simonis and Hyvernat,¹¹ but little or nothing has been published about the study of Syriae among them; it may be interesting, therefore, to learn something about this subject. My information is based on personal observations made several years ago, when I had an opportunity to visit the modern Chaldeans and Nestorians in their inaccessible mountains.

The so-called Nestorians in the mountains of Kurdistan, the plains of Upper Mesopotamia, and Persia may be considered either as a religious sect, or as a people. As a religious sect, they are the followers of the doctrine of Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople (428–431 A. D.) As a people, they are the descendants of the ancient Eastern Syrians.

¹ *Narrative of a residence in Kurdistan, and on the site of Ancient Nineveh* (London, 1836), 2 vols.

² *Correspondance et mémoires d'un voyageur en Orient* (Paris, 1836), 2 vols.

³ *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia* (London, 1842), 2 vols.

⁴ *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians* (New York), 1843.

⁵ *The Nestorians or The Lost Tribes* (London, 1841).

⁶ *Nineveh and its Remains with an Account of a Visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan and the Yezidis* (London, 1854), 6th edition.

Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, with Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan (London, 1853).

⁷ *The Nestorians and their Rituals* (London, 1852), 2 vols.

⁸ *La Chaldée. Esquisse historique* (Rome, 1867).

⁹ *Assur and the Land of Nimrod* (New York, 1897).

¹⁰ *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1883).

¹¹ *Du Caucase au Golf Persique, a travers l'Arménie, le Kurdistan et la Mesopotamie* (Washington, 1892).

The Nestorians of Kurdistan live to-day among their enemies, the Kurds. There is little difference between the Christian Nestorians and the Mohammedan Kurds. They are very simple and ignorant; even their priests have very little education. They lead a miserable life, and give themselves little concern about the education of their flocks. They are, however, held in high esteem by their people, who are very much attached to their creed.

The Nestorians in the mountains are governed by hereditary village sheiks known as *Meliks* ('Kings', cf. the *Kings* of the Canaanites in the Books of Joshua, etc.). The patriarch, residing at Kotchânes, near Julamerg, always bears the name of Mâr Shim'ôn (i. e. Lord Simeon). He possesses great influence and has also civil jurisdiction over the independent tribes. The patriarchal dignity is hereditary in one family: the woman destined to be the mother of the future patriarch must refrain, during the period of gestation, from eating flesh, and the patriarch himself must abstain from meat for ever.

The Nestorians in Persia live under essentially different conditions, the majority of them being settled in the rich and fruitful plain around the city and lake of Urmia. The date of their settlement in this region is not known, but Urmia is mentioned as early as the 10th century as the see of a Nestorian bishop. The Nestorians in the mountains may have gradually advanced eastwards into the plain, where they found more favorable conditions. Both the Nestorians of Persia and their brethren in Kurdistan are poor, for a large portion of the ground belongs to the Mohammedans.

The Catholic missions, conducted by the missionaries of St. Vincent de Paul (Lazarists), have worked very successfully among them, and there is now a Chaldean Catholic archbishopric in Urmia, a bishopric in Khosrova, and a third one in Sina. Since 1831 the field has been especially worked by the Protestant American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. They have sought to accomplish their purpose by utilizing, through the clergy, the actually existing church, and by founding schools and establishing printing offices.

It has been asserted that the Nestorians of Persia have a Jewish type, and some travelers (as Asahel Grant)¹ have attempted

¹ In his book *The Nestorians or The Lost Tribes* (2d ed., London, 1843).

to identify these Nestorians with the lost tribes of Israel ; but this theory is both historically and ethnographically untenable.

During the last three centuries many of the Nestorians of Kurdistan and Persia have joined the Roman Catholic Church, keeping, however, their customs, language, and ecclesiastical rites. These Roman Catholic Nestorians are scattered in Mōsul, Karkūk, Bagbdād, Mardīn, Diārbekr, Se'ert, Zakho, Akra, Urmia, Salmas, and they are now usually called *Chaldeans*, the name of *Nestorians* being restricted to their non-Catholic brethren.

The Nestorians of Kurdistan and Persia number about 150,000. They have about 250 churches, one patriareh, 12 archbishops and bishops, and about 300 priests. The number of Chaldeans is about 100,000, with about 150 churches, one patriarch, who bears the title of *Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon*, 13 archbishops and bishops, and about 250 priests.

The Nestorians of Kurdistan and Persia, it may be added, have not adopted the name *Nestorians*, but call themselves *Sārīdāîl* 'Syrians.' Their patriarch bears the title of *Patriarch of the Chaldeans*.

The language spoken by the Nestorians of Kurdistan and Persia, as well as of those in Mōsul, Upper Mesopotamia, and Persia, who have joined the Roman Catholic Church, is a modern form of the ancient Syriac and varies considerably in the different provinces where it is spoken. This dialect is generally called *Fellēhi* in Mesopotamia, and *Sārīth* or *Sārīdāîā* in Kurdistan. In the villages around Mōsul it contains many Arabic words ; in the Tiyyāri and Hakkari mountains, we find a number of Kurdish loanwords, and in and around Urmia, Salmas, and Sina we find several words borrowed from Persian. The people who speak the first two dialects understand each other better than the third dialect. The dialect of the low country has greatly suffered from phonetic decay, while that of the mountaineers preserves many of the older forms, and is pronounced with greater correctness. All these different dialects have been carefully studied and discussed by Stoddard, Nöldeke, Prym and Socin, Guidi, MacLean, Gottheil, Sachau and many others.

When the Arabs invaded the territories of the Persian empire, spreading their new faith over Asia, the Chaldeo-Nestorian church was already powerful in the East. Even in Arabia its missionaries had gained extensive influence. Mohammed himself may have received the Biblical and Christian traditions

embodied in the Korân, from the Nestorians in Arabia. The story of his connection with Sergius or Bahîra, a Nestorian monk, is well known.

The success of the Nestorian missionaries through all Asia is a splendid testimony to their activity and learning. The sees of their metropolitans and bishops were scattered over the continent from the shores of the Caspian to the Chinese Sea and from the northernmost boundaries of Scythia to the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula: Chaldea, Assyria, Armenia, Syria, Arabia, Asia Minor, Egypt, Cyprus, Persia, Parthia, Media, China, India Tartary and Mongolia. Their churches were almost innumerable, and their faith was conspicuous by the number and sanctity of their monks and martyrs. At the time of the Arab invasion the learning of the East was found chiefly among the Nestorians. Their knowledge and skill gained them favor with the Caliphs, and they became their treasurers, scribes and physicians. They were the teachers and masters of the Arabs in all sciences, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, dialectics, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy and medicine. But after the fall of the Caliphs the power of the Nestorian church in the East rapidly declined. The sect was persecuted by the Tatar sovereigns. But their final reduction to a few scattered remains in the provinces of Assyria must be attributed to the merciless Tatar conqueror Timur (or Tamerlane, 1333-1405 A.D.). He persecuted them with relentless fury; destroyed their churches, their monasteries, their schools, and put to the sword all who were unable to escape to the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Kurdish mountains, where they are settled to this day.

The extinction among them of parochial schools (once a matter of great importance with them, as appears from the decrees of many provincial Synods) caused a dearth of learned men, grammarians and copyists, thus entailing the loss of many valuable works, as there were but few men capable of copying the ancient manuscripts. At the present day, apart from some priests and bishops, there are among the Nestorians of Kurdistan scarcely 40 individuals able to copy an old Syriac manuscript with the requisite correctness. As they possess no knowledge of the ancient language, their copies are generally full of inaccuracies. The classic Syriac is not understood by the laymen in the mountains, and even the priests can hardly do more than read and explain it. Correspondence in classical Syriac is kept up

by a very few of the clergy, who, however, frequently introduce modern elements. The only books which they read and study are the church rituals, all other manuscripts being mostly in the possession of the Nestorians of Persia, the American missionaries of Urmia, and in the Chaldean Catholic churches and monasteries of Mōsul, Alḳōš, Telkêph, Diârbekr, Se'ert and Mar-dîn. The majority of ancient Syriac manuscripts are now preserved in the public and private libraries and museums of Europe. I have not heard of a single modern author among them. To be able to read the service book and the church rituals, and to write a tolerable hand, is considered the very acme of education, and this is all that is required of candidates for holy orders.

"While at 'Asheêtha," says Badger in his *Nestorians and their Rituals*, "I had an opportunity of seeing the Archdeacon give this kind of instruction to several youths, who were destined to become deacons. Five sat down round a psalter, placed upon a low stool, in such a way, that to two, at least, the book was upside down. The best reader led the way and the rest followed his voice and finger as he pointed to the place where he was reading. The Archdeacon would occasionally stop and explain the meaning of a difficult passage or word which he supposed they could not understand." What Badger saw 50 years ago in 'Asheêtha, I observed repeatedly in many villages of Kurdistan and even in the villages around Mōsul.

The Nestorians of Persia, on the other hand, are better educated. Since 1850 a decided improvement has taken place. Formerly out of two hundred Nestorians hardly two or three could read and write Syriac; but the proportion is now much higher. The bishops, the priests, and a good many laymen of the Nestorians in Persia know classical Syriac, not, to be sure, scientifically, but traditionally. They can read and copy readily and correctly an unpointed text, and they can even write letters in classical Syriac. Their favorite authors are the famous Mâr Marûtha of Maipherkat, St. Ephrem, Narsai, James of Sarûg, Warda, Abdîsho' of Soba and some other later writers of minor importance. But the first place among the books which they read and study is occupied by the Old and New Testament (the Pshîtâ),¹ and their church rituals (*Hudra, Gazza, Kashkâl, Ktāvâ*

¹ For this name of the ancient Syriac version of the Bible cf. Dr. Isaac Hall's remarks on p. iv of the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society* at New York, October, 1882; see also Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* ² § 26, B.

daqdām wadhāthar), which form a splendid collection of sacred selections from the most distinguished Nestorian writers and doctors from the IVth to the XVIIth century. Many priests know a considerable portion of the church rituals by heart. All these prayers are never said in private but publicly in the churches, and bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, other lower orders, and the people take part in them.

The Chaldeans, or Roman Catholic Nestorians, are still living under much better conditions than their brethren in Kurdistan and Persia. "If we compare," says Badger, "the present condition of the Chaldean community with the condition of their Nestorian brothers, justice demands that we should acknowledge the superiority of the former in civilization, general intelligence and ecclesiastical order, because the Chaldeans have profited by their communion and intercourse with Rome from whence they have learned something of European advancement, and their youths, who have been educated at the Propaganda, are undoubtedly more generally intelligent than those brought up in their own country."

Among these Chaldeans the study of Syriac occupies a prominent place and is really flourishing, every city and village of some importance having elementary schools in which the elements of Syriac are taught. The grammars are written by modern native authors. The texts are chiefly the Pshītā, the Church rituals, the Syrian authors mentioned above and especially the numerous Syriac texts published by the Chaldean priest Rev. Paul Bedjan from 1884 to 1900. While only the priests, and those devoted to the service of the Church, study Syriac thoroughly, there are also a number of laymen anxious to acquire some knowledge of the ancient language.

To show the development of Syriac studies among the modern Chaldean-Nestorians I give here the names of some of their most distinguished men, with their chief Syriac publications. Many of these scholars are still living, and I have known them personally. As one of the most learned men we must mention the Patriarch

I. *Ebedjesus Georgius V Khaijāt*

who died, two years ago, at Baghdād. He had a truly comprehensive knowledge of the language, literature, history and liturgy of the Chaldeo-Nestorian Church. To him we owe a great num-

ber of the Syriac MSS. existing in the Museo Borgiano of the Propaganda at Rome,¹ in the Vatican Library and in the private collections of Wright, Lamy, Abbeloos and Bedjan.

In conjunction with the late Monsignor Clemens David, Syrian Archbishop of Damascus, he published (1) *Biblia Sacra Syriaca Veteris et Novi Testamenti iuxta Versionem Simplicem vulgo Pschitta dictam*, 3 vols in 4°, Mansili, 1887-1891.

(2) In his *Éléments de grammaire et de lecture en langue Syriacque* (Môsul, 1869), *Imprimerie des Chaldéens* he published for the first time, several *memrê* or discourses of St. Ephrem, Narsai, Mâr Timotheus of the IX. century, etc.

He is also the author of (3) *Kthâvâ daqdâm wadwâthar*, i. e. Daily Prayers of the Chaldean Church (Môsul, 1866).

(4) *Liber Psalmorum (Kthâvâ dmazmâre de Dâwîd) cum canonibus* (Môsul, 1866).

(5) *Breviarium Chaldaicum* (in 3 vols.) edited by Bedjân (Paris, 1886-1887).

(6) *Syri Orientales, seu Chaldei, Nestoriani et Romanorum Pontificum primatus. Commentatio historico-philologico-theologica . . . accedunt appendices duæ . . .* (Romæ, 1870). In this famous book, which was written during the Vatican council at Rome, he published a great number of Syriac and Arabic *anecdota*.

(7) Some *Pastoral Letters* addressed to the patriarch, bishops, clergy, and people of the Nestorian Church, published in Syriac, at Môsul in 1894.

We are indebted to him also for the publication of the (8) *Missale Chaldaicum*, published this year at Môsul by the Dominican press.

This distinguished prelate of the Chaldean Church devoted more than thirty years to the collection of the material and the documents for a complete *History of the Chaldeo-Nestorian Church*; but unfortunately, his notes were sold, after his death, to a Chaldean of Baghdâd, who sent them to Europe, hoping to be able to sell them to some European Museum, Library, or Syriac scholar.

II. *Mâr Elia Mellâs,*

bishop of the Chaldeans at Mardîn, is also a distinguished Syriac scholar. He has published in Syriac—

¹ Cf. *Cersoy, Les Manuscrits Orientaux de Mgr. David au Musée Borgia, de Rome in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 9, 360-384.

(1) *Directorium Spirituale ex libris sapientialibus desumptum ab Joanne monacho Chaldæo anno 1245 et ab Elia Jo. Melloûs (Miller) archiepiscopo Akrensi auctum* (Romæ, 1868) in 8°. This volume contains about 150 religious poems in Syriac.

III. Mâr Thoma Audo,

at present bishop of the Chaldeans at Urmia, in Persia, is regarded as the most elegant Syriac writer of our times. His Syriac publications, some of which are translations from the French and Latin, are very numerous. The most important of them are :—

(1) *Theologia Moralis of P. Gury*, 2 vols. (Môsul, 1896) translated from the Latin.

(2) The Syriac translation of *The Catechism of the Council of Trent* (Môsul, 1889).

(3) *P. Segneri S. J. Manuale sacerdotum, in lingua Chaldaica a Damiano olim translatum, nuper vero a Thoma Audo revisum atque editum* (Mansili, 1882) in 8°.

(4) *Nieremberg, La Balance du Temps. Traduction ancienne revue et corrigée par Thoma Audo* (Môsul) in 8°.

(5) *Togni, L. Instruction pour les ministres de l'église. Traduit du Latin en langue Chaldéenne par Th. Audo* (Môsul 1895).

(6) *Kalîla et Dimna, traduit en langue Chaldéenne par Thomas Audo* (Môsul, 1895).

(7) *Dictionnaire de la langue Chaldéenne*, in 2 volumes in 4° gr. Vol. I, Môsul, 1897. The second volume of this very learned and important work, written in Syriac, is to appear this year.¹

This distinguished Chaldean archbishop is now engaged in the publication of several other Syriac works.

IV. Mâr Michael Ni'imo,

formerly Chaldean bishop of Baghdâd and Basrah (died in 1896), was both an excellent Arabic and Syriac scholar. He published, in Arabic, about 70 *memrê* or festival discourses of the famous Nestorian patriarch Mâr Elia Abu-Halîm Al-Hadîthi of the 13th century.

¹ Cf. Luzac's *Oriental List*, 8, 142 and Lamy, *Rapport sur le Progrès des Études Syriacques* (1894-97) in the *Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris, 1897, Quatrième Section* (Paris, 1898), pp. 1-25.

V. *Mār Eremia Maḳḳasi,*

at present Chaldean bishop of 'Aḳra, and a very learned and excellent Syriac scholar, has published a valuable Syriac grammar under the title *Tārās mamlā Sāriāiā*, i. e. *Éléments de grammaire Chaldéenne*, (Mōsul, 1889) in 8°, and he is preparing some other Syriac publications.

Among the other Chaldean bishops we may mention

VI. *Mār Jacob Saḥḥar,*

bishop of Zacho and Amadiyya, and

VII. *Mar Sleimān,*

bishop of Diārbekr, in Mesopotamia, especially known as an excellent Arabic scholar.

VIII. *Qaiṣma Mār Samuel Gidmil,*

at present General Procurator of the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon at Rome, formerly Abbot of the Monastery of Rabbān Hormuzd, in Alḳosh, and an intimate friend of Guidi, Parisot, Graffin, Bedjān, Chabot, and Sachau, who are indebted to him for several Syriac manuscripts which they have published, is one of the Chaldean priests most learned in the Syriac language, history, and literature. He recently published a Syriac anecdote, with Italian translation, about the Yezīdi, i. e. the devil worshipers of Mesopotamia, under the title *Monte Singar, storia di un popolo ignoto* (Romæ, 1900) in 12°.¹ He is publishing a large collection of Syriac and Latin documents concerning the relations between the Nestorian and Chaldean Patriarchs and the Popes of Rome from the 13th century down to the present time. These documents, taken from the private archives of the Vatican library at Rome, are published in the well known Roman journal *Il Bessarion, Giornale di studi Orientali*. He possesses, furthermore, a very large collection of materials for the publication of a work about all the Nestorian writers and their works, both edited and unedited, known and unknown, or lost, which he has been diligently gathering for the last twenty years in the old monasteries and libraries of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Persia.

¹ Cf. *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, March 15, 1901, pp. 101-6; and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April, 1901), p. 360.

IX. *Kaššiša Isrâel Audo,*

brother of the above mentioned Mâr Thoma Audo (No. III), and at present pastor of the Chaldean community at Basrah near the Persian Gulf, is the highest native authority living in Syriac grammar and lexicography. His knowledge of the ancient language is really astonishing; he possesses a great deal of material for several Syriac publications.

X. *Kaššiša Jacob,*

a young Chaldean priest, at present Professor of the Syriac Language, Literature and Liturgy in the Chaldean and Dominican Seminary at Môsul, is one of the most learned and active Chaldean priests in the East. He has published at Môsul, a valuable *Syriac Grammar*, and excellent *Syriac-Arabic* and *Arabic-Syriac Dictionary*, in two large volumes, and he is preparing several other publications among which we must mention an elegant Syriac translation of the *Summa Theologiæ* and *Summa Philosophiæ* of St. Thomas of Aquino.

Many other Chaldean priests might be mentioned here, e. g. Kaššiša Puṭrus Kattûla, of Telkêph; Puṭrus Nasri, of Môsul; Gabriel Kuriakôs, of Baghdâd; Stifân Gibrân, of Môsul; Puṭrus Aziz Hoh, of Môsul, at present in Aleppo, Syria; Abbé Salomon, of Salmas, Persia; Gabriél Adda, of Karkûk, Mesopotamia, etc., etc.

Special mention must be made here of the most able editor of Syriac texts of our time, the

XI. *Rev. Paul Bedjan,*

a Chaldean of Salmas in Persia, who has made his home, for several years, in Belgium. This learned Chaldean scholar began, in 1884, to publish, in the most beautiful Syriac type, a great number of Syriac texts for the use of the Chaldeans and Nestorians of the East and also for European Orientalists. His publications are very numerous, and we give here a complete list of them.

(1) *Syllabaire Chaldéen, Idiome d'Ourmiah* (Paris, 1886), 8°.

(2) *Manuel de Piété on Livre de Prières, de Méditations et des Offices en Langue Chaldéenne* (Paris, 1886); 2^d ed., 1894.¹

¹ Cf. *Orien. Literatur-blatt für Orientalische Philologie* 4, 3110.

(3) *Doctrina Christiana lingua Chaldaica idiomatis Urmicæ Persidis* (Paris, 1886).

(4) *Imitatio Christi nunc primum ex Latino in Chaldaicum idiomatis Urmicæ Persidis translata a Paulo Bedjan* (Paris, 1885).

(5) *Liber Psalmorum, horarum diurnarum ordinis officii divini et homiliarum rogationum, Chaldaice edidit P. Bedjan* (Paris, 1886).

(6) *Breviarium Chaldaicum. Edidit Paul Bedjan*, 3 vols. in 8° (Paris, 1886-1887).¹

(7) *Compendium Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Undecim, Syriace edidit P. Bedjan* (Paris, 1888).

(8) *Histoire de Joseph, poème inédit en dix livres, publié pour la première fois par Paul Bedjan* (Paris, 1887).—*Nouvelle édition, revue, corrigée, enrichie de variantes et d'un discours sur la translation du corps de Joseph par un auteur anonyme* (Paris, 1891).²

(9) *Chronicon Syriacum e codd. mss. emendatum ac punctis vocalibus adnotationibusque locupletatum a P. Bedjan editum* (Paris, 1890).³

(10) *Histoire de Mâr Jabalaha patriarche et de Rabban Çauma éditée en langue Syriaque par P. Bedjan* (Paris 1888).—*2d ed. jointe l'histoire de trois autres patriarches, d'un prêtre et de deux laïques nestoriens* (Paris, 1895).⁴

¹ Cf. Duval, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 9 (1888), 81-87.

² Cf. Nöldeke, *Liter. Centralblatt* (Leipzig, 1888), No. 1, and Duval, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 9 (1888), 81-87.

³ Cf. Nöldeke, *Literarisches Centralblatt* (Leipzig, 1891), No. 14.

⁴ Cf. Van Hoonacker, *Muséon*, 8, 270; Lamy, *Bull. Ac. Belg.*, 17, 223-43; Duval, *Journal Asiatique*, 13, 3, 313-54 and 16, 113; Nöldeke, *Lit. Cbl.* 28, col. 997; Nestle, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 16, 421; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für. Wiss. Theol.* 39, 632; Chabot, *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 4, 415; Gottheil, *Hebraica*, 13, 222. Chabot has given a valuable French translation of this important Syriac text with notes and appendices under the title *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III Patriarch des Nestoriens (1281-1317) et du moine Rabbân Çauma, ambassadeur du roi Argoun en Occident (1287), traduite du Syriaque et annotée avec appendices and documents* (Paris, 1895). Supplemented by *Supplément à l'histoire du Mar Jabalaha III et du moine Çauma* (Paris, 1900); cf. H. Hilgenfeld, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zur Teš'itha d'mâr Jabalaha patriarcha wadrabban Çauma* (Jena, 1894). See also *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie*, 39, 634; Chabot, *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 11, 641; Duval, *Journal asiatique*, série IX, tom V, p. 371; Nöldeke, *Lit. Cbl.* 3, 95; Lühr, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 18, 546; Brockelmann, *ZDMG.*, 49, 327; Chabot, *Revue Critique*, 21; Nestle, *Theol. Literaturzeit.* 2, 45.

(11) *Acta Sanctorum et Martyrum*, in 7 large volumes, in 8° (Paris, 1890-1897).¹

(12) *Eusèbe de Césarée Histoire ecclésiastique éditée pour la première fois par P. Bedjan* (Paris, 1897).²

(13) *Bar Hebræus, Ethicon seu moralia Syriace edidit P. Bedjan* (Paris, 1898).³

(14) *Bar Hebræus, Nomocanon Syriace edidit P. Bedjan.* (Paris, 1898).

XII. Joseph Guriel,

a Chaldean priest, of Salmas, Persia (died in 1890), published the following works in Syriac:—

(1) *Thomas à Kempis, imitatio Christi; a Josepho Guriel, Persa-Chaldæo, Chaldaice editum* (Romæ, 1857).

(2) *Psalterium Chaldaicum in usum nationis Chaldaicæ editum* (Romæ, 1842).

(3) *Breviarium Chaldaicum in usum nationis Chaldaicæ editum a Josepho Guriel* (Romæ, 1865).

(4) *Elementa linguæ Chaldaicæ cui accedit series patriarcharum Chaldæorum a Josepho Guriel exarata* (Romæ, 1860).

(5) *Lectiones dogmaticæ de divini verbi incarnatione* (Romæ, 1858) in Syriac.

(6) *Manuale sacerdotum juxta ritum ecclesiæ Chaldæorum editum* (Romæ, 1858).

(7) *Ordo baptismi adultorum juxta ritum ecclesiæ Malabaricæ Chaldæorum* (Romæ, 1859).

(8) *Sex conjugationes verborum linguæ Chaldaicæ* (Romæ, 1870).

(9) *Ordo Chaldaicus ministerii sacramentorum quæ perficiuntur a sacerdotibus iuxta morem ecclesiæ Malabaricæ* (Romæ, 1845).

¹ Cf. Nestle, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1893, Nos. 1-2; Duval, *Revue Critique*, 19, 364; *Lit. Cbl.* 21, 761; Baethgen, *Deutsche Literaturzeit.* 19, 1609; Gottheil, *Am. Journ. of Theol.* 1, 820; *Lit. Cbl.*, 14, 449; Nestle, *Theol. Literaturzeit.* 8, 213 and 12, 312; Schulthess, GGA. 9, 665.

² Cf. Ermoni, *Bull. Critique*, 36, 689; *Lit. Cbl.* 15, 667; Ryssel, *Theol. Literaturzeit.* 11, 296; *Independent*, 49, 1543; Brockelmann, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 37, 423.

³ Cf. Nöldeke, *Lit. Cbl.*, 37, 1101.

(10) *Missale Chaldaico-Malabaricum* (Romæ, 1857).

(11) *Hymnus Sancti Ambrosii et Augustini a Josepho Guriel in Chaldaicum linguam translatus* (Romæ, 1856).

(12) *Ordo baptismi adultorum (Catechumenorum) iuxta ritum ecclesiæ Malabaricæ Chaldæorum* (Romæ, 1859).

XIII. *F. Louis Sheikho,*

the well-known Arabic scholar of Beirût, Syria, a Chaldean of the City of Mardîn in Mesopotamia, who afterwards entered the order of the Jesuits, edited in Arabic, about twenty published *memrê* of the Nestorian patriarch *Abu Halîm* and a very interesting paper entitled *Bar Hebræus l'homme et l'écrivain suivie d'un traité inédit sur l'âme humaine* (Bayrouth, 1899).

Finally the following Syriac books have been published by

XIV. *Some Other Modern Chaldean Authors:*

(1) *Syriac First and Second Book. In Syriac and Malayalim* (Mannanam, 1888-1892).

(2) *Ṭakṣa daslawâtha womezmdre*, Syro-Chaldaic Book of Prayers (Mannanam, 1886).

(3) *Recueil de Chants Religieux en Langue Chaldéenne Vulgaire* (Môsul, 1896) in 8°.

(4) *Kethâva deteshmishta dahlap 'Annîde*, Church ritual for the funerals according to the rite of the Chaldeans of Malabar in India, (Mannanam, 1882).

(5) *Chrestomathia Suryaya* (Cooneman, 1874).

(6) *Classical Syriac Grammar with Explanations in Modern Syriac* (Urmia, 1890).

(7) *Bellarminus V. R. Doctrinæ Christianæ Rudimenta in vernaculam Chaldæorum linguam Urmiensis Provinciæ translata* (Romæ, 1861).

(8) *Palakosha Abraham, Dictionary Syriac and Malayalim* (Mannanam, 1898) in 8°.

(9) *Fables en langue Chaldéenne vulgaire par Daoud l'Aveugle* (Môsul, 1896).

(10) *Enchiridion de Kahne ad usum cleri Chaldæi Malabarici* edidit G. Valiavittil (Verapoli, 1881).

(11) *Officium feriale Syriacum pro clero Syro Malabarico* (Verapoli, 1886).

(12) *Missale Chaldaicum iuxta ritum ecclesiæ Chaldæo-Malabaricæ* (Romæ, 1845).

(13) *Liber Psalmorum beati David regis et prophetæ cum canonibus* (Urmia, 1841).

APPENDIX.

On the Study of Syriac among the Modern Jacobites and Maronites.

(a) *The Jacobites.*

The Jacobites, the descendants of the ancient Western Syrians, are followers of the doctrine of Eutyches, whose heresy was condemned at the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451. They live now in northern Mesopotamia, among the Catholic Syrians and Chaldeans, and are just as ignorant and uneducated as the Nestorians of Kurdistan. As far as I know, there is no author or writer among them.

The Western Syrians who have joined the Roman Catholic Church undoubtedly live under much better conditions than their heterodox brothers; nevertheless the study of Syriac among them is not much cultivated. We will mention here, however, some of their most eminent scholars together with their principal Syriac publications.

One of the most distinguished modern Jacobite scholars was the late

XV. *Monsignor Clemens Joseph David,*

Archbishop of Damascus. He was both an excellent Arabic and Syriac scholar, and his knowledge of the Syriac language, history, literature, and liturgy was greatly admired even by the most distinguished European Syriac scholars such as Wright, Nöldeke, Lamy, Abbeloos, Guidi, Ceriani, etc. His principal Syriac publications are:

(1) *Biblia Sacra iuxta Versionem simplicem vulgo Pshitta dictam* (edd. Monseigneur David Archevêque Syrien et Monseigneur Khayyath Archevêque Chaldéen), 3 vols. (Mansili, 1887-1891) in 4°; 712, 681, 426 pp.

(2) *Psalterium Syriacum ad fidem plurium optimorum codicum edidit J. David* (Mansili, 1877).

(3) *Breviarium juxta ritum ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Syrorum. Syriace edidit C. J. David Archiepiscopus Damascenus Syrorum* (Mansili, 1886-1898), in seven vols., 4°.

(4) *Grammaire de la langue araméenne selon les deux dialectes syriaque et chaldaïque comparé avec l'arabe l'hébreu et le*

babylonien par sa grandeur Mgr. David Archevêque Syrien de Damas. (Môsul, 1882) 1 vol.; 2^d ed., considerably enlarged, with an Introduction and Appendix (Môsul, 1896-8), in 2 vols. This grammar, written in Arabic, is undoubtedly the best Syriac grammar written by a modern Syrian grammarian.

(5) *Livre de lecture syrienne*, 4th ed. (Môsul, 1891).

(6) *Antiqua ecclesiæ Syro-Chaldaicæ traditio de principatu Petri* (Romæ, 1870). A very useful and interesting book with numerous historical notes and documents.

(7) *Service de la messe privée selon le rite Syrien* (Môsul, 1868).

(8) *Lectionarium Syriacum, collectio orationum et lectionum quæ in horis canonicis per totum anni decursum, excepto jejuniis quadragesimali, ab ecclesiæ Syriacæ clero adhiheri solent* (Môsul, 1879).

(9) *Psalterium Syriacum iuxta Pschittam ad usum cleri ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Syrorum ediderunt J. David and J. G. Schelhot* (Mansili, 1885).

He has also written an Arabic version of the Old and New Testaments, in three volumes; an excellent Arabic grammar with Chrestomathy, in three volumes; a history of the Church, in two editions; and a volume on the language spoken by Christ, the language spoken in Syria during the Arab invasion; a volume on the Eastern liturgies; a very interesting article on the Arabic dialect of Damascus, printed in the *Journal Asiatique*; and many other books, the majority of which, however, are still unpublished.

XVI. *Behnam Benni*,

patriarch of the Syrians (died at Môsul in 1897), published *The Tradition of the Syriac Church of Antioch concerning the Primacy and the Prerogatives of St. Peter and his Successors, the Roman Pontiffs* (Môsul, 1860.) Translated into English, under the Direction of the Author, by the Rev. Joseph Galiardi (London, 1871).

XVII. *Ephraem Rahmâni*,

the present Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, an excellent Arabic and Syriac scholar, has recently published two important works :

(1) *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi. Nunc primum edidit, Latine redidit et illustravit Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani, patriarcha Antiochenus Syrorum* (Mainz, 1899).

(2) *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum Guricæ et Shamnonæ a Theophilo scripta, nunc primum edidit, Latine vertit et illustravit*

Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani patriarcha Antiochenus Syrorum (Romæ, 1899).

The Maronites.

The Maronites in Syria and Mt. Lebanon form a branch of the Syrian Churches of the East. The study of the Syriac language and literature was first introduced in Europe by five learned Maronites, viz :

XVIII. *Abraham Ecchellensis,*

who published the *Linguæ Syriacæ sive Chaldaicæ perbrevis institutio ad eiusdem nationis studiosos adolescentes* (Romæ, 1628) in 12°, and the *Tractatus continens catalogum librorum Chaldæorum, tam ecclesiasticorum quam profanorum* of Ebedjesus of Soba (Romæ, 1653), and many other useful Syriac works.

XIX. *Isaac Sciadrensis,*

who published *Grammatica linguæ Syriacæ* (Romæ, 1636).

The two famous *Assemani*, viz :

XX. *Joseph Simonius Assemani,*

the famous author of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* and of many other valuable Syriac books, and

XXI. *Stephanus Evodius Assemani,*

author of *Bibliothecæ Apostolicæ Vaticanæ Codicum Manuscriptorum Catalogus* and *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum Orientalium et Occidentalium*, and many other books, and finally

XXII. *P. Petrus Benedictus, S. J.,*

who published, in conjunction with Stephanus Evodius Assemani (No. xxi), *Ephræmi Syri opera omnia quæ exstant Græce, Syriace, Latine, in sex tomos distributa.*

The study of Syriac among the modern Maronites is certainly not flourishing, and the way so gloriously opened by the six illustrious Maronites mentioned above has unfortunately not been followed by the modern Maronites, who seem to be interested in the study of Arabic, in which they have made great strides, rather than in Syriac. Nevertheless there are still some accomplished and very learned Syriac scholars, among them, e. g.

XXIII. *P. Gabriel Cardahi,*

who has published the following Syriac works :

(1) *Liber thesauri de arte poetica Syrorum nec non de eorum poetarum vitis et carminibus per P. D. Gabrielem Cardahi Maronitam e Libano* (Romæ, 1875).

(2) *Al 'Yhkâm seu linguæ et artis metricæ Syrorum institutiones auctore P. Gabriele Cardahi Libanensis, linguarum Arabicæ et Syriacæ in Collegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide professore* (Romæ, 1880) in 8°. A second edition of this work is in press.

(3) *Ebedjesus Sobensis. Paradisus Eden, primum Syriace edidit et notis Arabicis instruxit Gabriel Cardahi*, vol. 1 (Beyrouth, 1889).

(4) *Al-Lobab, seu Dictionarium Syro-Arabicum* (Beyrouth, 1887-1891) 2 vols., in 8°, pp. 620 and 701.

(5) *Bar Hebræus Abulfaragius. Kithâbha Dhiyawná, seu Liber Columbæ. Syriace edidit Gabriel Cardahi* (Romæ, 1899).

XXIV. *Joseph Debs,*

Maronite Archbishop of Beyrouth, has published two books, in Arabic, concerning Syria and the Syro-Maronite Church, viz.

(1) *Confutationes contra assertiones sacerdotis Joseph David Syri* (in Arabic). *Latine vertit H. N. Dahdah* (Beryti, 1871).

(2) *Kitâb târikh Saryâ* (in Arabic), i. e. History of Syria, in 4 vols., three of which were issued at Beyrouth, 1893-99.

He has published also another book (in French) about the permanent union of the Maronites with the Roman Catholic Church, which was presented as a Memoir to the last International Congress of Catholics, held in Rome, 1900.

XXV. *P. Joannis Notayn Darauni,*

a Maronite priest, published *Carmen de Divina Sapientia, auctore celeberrimo viro Abulfaragio Gregorio Bar Hebræo. Accedunt adnotationes et interpretationes* (Romæ, 1880).

XXVI. *P. Augustinus Scébabi,*

a Maronite monk, has published *Gregorii Abulpharagii Bar Hebræi Carmina, cum lexico* (Romæ, 1877).

XXVII. *G. Risio*

is the author of *Al-Kitab, scilicet grammatica et Ars Metrica linguae Syriacæ* (Beryti, 1897).

A complete and detailed history of the Syrian Maronites has been written by Mgr. Istifân Ud- Dwayhi 'l- Ihdini, Patriarch of Antioch, and published in Arabic, with notes by Rashîd al-Khûri al-Shartûni (Beyrouth, 1890).

A great many ecclesiastical and liturgical Syriac books have been published by Maronite authors, for the use of the Maronite Church, during the last forty years, but it would require too much space to enumerate them here.

The Arabic dialect of Baghdâd.—By Rev. GABRIEL OUSSANI,
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

THE modern Arabic dialects are very numerous, but the most important are those spoken in Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Barbary, and Morocco. That of Mesopotamia varies somewhat according as it is spoken in Baghdâd, Mûsul, Diârbekr, or Mardîn. I shall discuss here the Baghdâd dialect only, inasmuch as, so far as I know, nobody has, hitherto, treated it.¹

In the present paper I must confine myself to some rough notes on the principal phonetic, morphological and lexicographical peculiarities, reserving a complete and systematic study of the Baghdâd dialect for a future publication.

1. PHONOLOGICAL NOTES.

Pronunciation of Consonants.

(1) The distinction between د and ذ, ض and ظ, ت and ث is not maintained, and ذ, ض and ث are pronounced as د, ظ and ت; e. g. ذهب *dâhab* instead of ذهب *gold*, فضة *fîdde* instead of فضة *silver*, and توب *tôb* instead of ثوب *cloth*; while in Egypt and Syria ذ, ض and ظ are always pronounced respectively as *s*, *z*, and *z*: زâhab, fizze, sôb.

(2) ج is pronounced *j*, not *g* as in Egypt, e. g. جبل *jébel* 'mountain,' جمل *jémel* 'camel.'

(3) ر is pronounced as a guttural *r* = *gh* = غ, both by the Christians and Jews, e. g. كبيغ, عشغة, غمان instead of كبير

¹ While the modern Arabic dialects of Egypt, Barbary, Tunis, Morocco, Arabia, Syria, and Damascus have been carefully studied and discussed by scholars like Spitta, Berggrem, Wahrmund, Cameron, Hartmann, Vollers, Pizzi, Nallino, Caussin de Perceval, Monseigneur Clemens T. David, Syrian Archbishop of Damascus, Huart, Socin, Meakin, Winckler (J. L. W.), Probst, Spiro, and Stumme, that of Baghdâd seems to have attracted but little attention. Newman, in his *Handbook of Modern Arabic* (London, 1866), makes some references to this dialect, but his remarks are vague, confused, and often incorrect.

great, عَشْرَةٌ *ten*, رَمَان *pomegranate*,¹ while the Arabs and Bedouins in and around Baghdâd always pronounce the ر correctly.²

(4) In some cases ر and ل are interchanged, e. g. *Ingrîzi* for انكليزي *Englishman*, *qinçir* for قنصل *consul*, and *iltâbak* for ارتبك *to be confused*, and *zangîl* for زنجير, or better جنزير *chain*.³

(5) ك is pronounced ç, i. e. like the English *ch* in *chain*, e. g. *çalb* for كلب *dog*, *çidîb* for كذب *lie*, *çâbad* for كبد *liver*.⁴

(6) ق is pronounced as *g* in English *game*, e. g. *lâglag* for قلق *stork*, *gâ'ad* for قعد *to sit down*, *gâm* for قام *to rise*, etc. We find the same change in the Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, where words like *qagqadu*, 'head,' *qâtu* 'hand,' *qaggaru* 'ground,' *qardu* 'strong,' appear as *qagadu*, *gâtu*, *gagaru*, and *gardu*.⁵

(7) In some cases the ق is pronounced ج, i. e. English *j*,⁶ e. g. the proper name *Jâsim* for قاسم, *jâdar* for قدر *fate*, *jarîb* for قريب *near*; but ق is never pronounced at Baghdâd as *hamza*, as in Syria; they never say 'âlîb for قلب *heart*, 'arîb for قريب *near*, 'âla for قال *he said*.⁷

(8) س and ص are often interchanged according to the well known rule of the Arabs:—اذا اجتمعت السين والقاف والسين

¹ Cf. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 3^d edition, vol. 1, p. 6, n. *, where De Goeje states that غ is sometimes replaced by ر as in the Yemenite مزار *muḏḏâr* for مضاغ, and often in MSS. See also *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, 3, 569, l. 4.

² Cf. Franz Delitzsch, *Physiologie und Musik in ihrer Bedeutung für die Grammatik besonders die hebräische* (Leipzig, 1868), p. 12.

³ According to Dr. Moritz, the Director of the Khedivial Library at Cairo, the name زنجيرلى *zenjîrîlî* is not derived from زنجير *chain*, but from ستجير *castle*; see *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* (*Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen, Königl. Museum zu Berlin, Heft xi*, Berlin, 1893), p. 61, n. 1.

⁴ Contrast Wetzstein, *Sprachliches aus den Zeltlagern der syrischen Würte* (Leipzig, 1868), pp. 99 ff.

⁵ Cf. Haupt, ASKT. (Leipzig, 1881), p. 168 ff.; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Grammar*, § 43.

⁶ Contrast Wetzstein, l. c. p. 100.

⁷ Cf. Edgar P. Allen, *On the Semitic Emphatic Consonants* in vol. 14 of this *Journal*, p. cxi.

والطاء والسين والغين والسين والصاد فأنت الخيار بها إن
 ق and س wherever شئت سيئنتها وإن شئت صودتها
 and ص come together, you are at liberty
 to pronounce either س or ص, e. g. مسطرة for مصطرة ruler (for
 drawing straight lines) سقط for صقط he fell, سطح for صطح
 roof.¹

(9) Finally, owing to the great number of Turkish, Persian,
 and European words introduced into the Baghdâd dialect, there
 are three new consonants which do not exist in classical Arabic,
 viz. چ = ç,² پ = p and گ = g, e. g. چول çöl 'open field, پوستة
 posta 'post office,' and گمرگ گمرگ 'custom house.'³

All these phonetic peculiarities apply, of course, only to the spoken lan-
 guage; in reading the Koran and the classical authors both
 Christians and Jews as well as Mohammedans pronounce the con-
 sonants more correctly than is customary in Egypt and Syria.

With respect to the *accent*, it may be noted that the Jews of
 Baghdâd have a tendency to put the accent on the last syllable,
 as in Hebrew, but this is not done by the Christians and the
 Mohammedans.

Dropping of Consonants.

The nûnation has disappeared in the dialect of Baghdâd just as
 in the other modern Arabic dialects. It is however, preserved in
 a few adverbs, e. g. أبدا never, دائما always, and in the old salu-
 tation اهلا وسهلا ومرحبا; in Egypt and in Syria adverbial
 forms with nûnation are much more numerous.

The final ن of the classical Arabic in the 2 pers. fem. sing. and
 in 2 pers. masc. plur. of the imperfect, on the other hand, is pre-

¹ For this partial assimilation cf. Haupt, *Die sumerischen Familien-
 gesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 73, below; *Hebraica*, I, 231; *Beiträge zur
 Assyriologie* I, 2. 19, n. 27; *Critical Notes on Proverbs* (in *The Poly-
 chrome Bible*), p. 65, l. 39; see also Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Gram-
 matik*² (Leipzig, 1898), § 22.

² Cf. above, (5).

³ In modern Arabic writing the sounds ç, p, g, are represented respec-
 tively by the Persian and Turkish letters, چ, پ, and گ.

served in the dialect of Baghdād, while in Egypt and Syria this termination has altogether disappeared.

Initial *Ā* is usually dropped, e. g. *mlāk*, *klīl*, *mrād* for أملاك 'amlāk, possessions, إكليل 'iklīl, crown, امراض 'amrād, maladies.¹

Postvocalic *Ā* often quiesces in a preceding short vowel, as *dīb*, *īākīl*, for ذئب *dhi'b* 'wolf,' and يأكل *īa'kulu* 'he eats.'

The imperative has no prothetic *N* as in classical Arabic (قتل *ūqtul*) but is simply *qtul*, *shrab* for اشرب *ishrab* 'drink,' as in Hebrew and Syriac.

Final *ā* is often dropped, e. g. *ḡalā*, *māra* for صلاة *ḡalātuⁿ* 'prayer,' and امرأة *imra'atuⁿ* 'woman.'

In the form مفعلة and فعيلة the *ā* is often changed into *ī* (فعلى and فعيلي), e. g. *mādrasi*, *māktabi*, *ḡasini*, *karīmi* for مدرسة *mādrasat* 'school,' مكتبة *māktabat* 'library,' حسينة *ḡasīnat* 'beautiful,' كريمة *karīmat* 'generous;' in other words, however, of the same type the final *a* is preserved, e. g. مطبعة *maṭba'a* 'printing office,' مقبرة *maqbara* 'cemetery,' مسطرة *mas-tara* 'ruler' (for drawing straight lines).

The *ā* in the verbal suffix of the 3 pers. sing. and plur. masc. and fem. is elided, and for قتله *qátalahu* 'he has killed him,' قتلها *qátalahā* 'he has killed her,' قتلهم *qátalahum* 'he has killed them, قتلهن *qatalahunna* 'he has killed them' (fem.) we find *qatālu*, *qatāla*, *qatāhum* and *qatāhunⁿ*.²

Other Consonantal Changes.

In the *nomen agentis* of the verbs mediæ و and ى the *hamza* is changed into *ī*, e. g. *ḡāīim māīit*, for قائم *qā'im* 'standing,' and صائت *mā'it*, 'dying.'³

The final *hamza* of the word ماء *water* is also changed into *ī*: ماي *māi*, as in Ethiopic *māi*, pl. *māiāt*.⁴

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*², § 32.

² Cf. Heb. אנני for אנהו; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², § 38.

³ Cf. Haupt, *Der Halbvocal u im Assyrischen in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 2, 276.

⁴ In Hebrew מים the *ī* is due to epenthesis of the final *i* in the old plural form *māmi*. Cf. Critical Notes on Isaiah (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 157, l. 12.

Vowels.

In the Arabic writing only three vowels are expressed, viz. *a*, *i*, *u* or *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, e. g. *قَتَلَ*, *مَقْتُولٌ*, *وَلَدٌ*, *وَالِدٌ*, *مَلِكٌ*, *سَعِيدٌ*. In the Baghdād dialect, however, as well as in all the other modern Arabic dialects we find three additional vowels, viz. *ō* representing a modification of *u* or of a diphthongal *au*; *ē* for *ī* or *āī* or *ā*, and finally short *e* similar to the *e* in the English word *general*.

(1) The change of *ā* to *ē* in the modern Arabic dialects, the so-called *امالة*, is well known.¹ For instance: the words *رجال* *men*, *ناس* *people*, *جامع* *mosque*, *كاتب* *writer*, are pronounced in *r-jēl*, *nēs*, *jēmi'*, *kētīb*.

(2) The preformatives of the imperfects *i* and *u* in the first form of the verb are pronounced with an *i* vowel, e. g. *يقتل* for *يقتل* *yaqtul*; in the derived conjugations an *e* vowel is pronounced e. g. *يقتل* for *يقتل* *yaqtul*, *يقتل* for *يقتل* *yaqtul*. This, however, is probably not a phonetic change but the survival of a by-form; see Mr. Blake's remarks on the vowels of the preformatives in his paper on *The Internal Passive in Semitic*.²

(3) In certain nouns we find an *e*, like the *e* in the English word *carpet*, instead of *u* in classical Arabic, e. g. *meshmesh*, *fel-fel*, *bestān*, *selbān* instead of *مشمش* *mušmuš* 'apricot,' *فلفل* *ful-ful* 'pepper,' *بستان* *bustān* 'garden,' *سلطان* *ṣultān* 'sultan.' In these cases we have, of course, no phonetic change but different formations; cf. Hebrew *שולטן* Arabic *sultān*; Aramaic *ܫܠܬܢ*, Arab. *buniān*. This change is peculiar to the Baghdād dialect.

The *Imāle* referred to under (1) occurs also in Syria, e. g. *bēb* 'gate,' *kitēb* 'book, for *bāb*, *kitāb*; and the pronunciation of the preformatives of the imperfect with *i* instead of *a* or *u* is found both in Syria and Egypt.

(4) The long vowels *ī* and *ū* often become *ē* and *ō*, e. g. *malēh*, *arēd*, *batteh* for *مليح* *good*, *عريض* *wide*, *بطيخ* *melon*; also *aṣfōgh*, *nāqōs*, *maksōgh*, for *عصفور* *sparrow*, *ناقوس* *bell*, *مكسور* *broken*. In Egypt and Syria the vowels *ī* and *ū* are preserved.

¹ Cf. Grünert, *Über die Imāla* (Vienna, 1876), and Haupt, *The Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 18.

² Compare also *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I, 17, n. 20.

The *ē* and *ō* of the Baghdād dialect, in the cases mentioned above, is no doubt due to the influence of the adjacent consonants.¹

(5) Unaccented short vowels are often syncopated, e. g. براسى *birā'sī* 'on my head,' becomes *bra'sī*; لبيتى *liba'īti* 'to my house,' becomes *lbēti*. In the same way the vowel of the preformatives of the imperfect is often dropped if the first stem consonant of the verb is followed by a vowel, e. g. *tçállī*, *nbārik* for *تصلى*, *ننارك* *tuçallī* 'thou prayest,' and *nubāriku* 'we bless;'; so, too, in the preformative *m* of the participles, e. g. *mçáttīl*, *mdárris*, *m'allim* for *مقتل* *mūçáttīku*ⁿ 'murderer,' *mudárrisu* 'instructor,' and *mu'allimū* 'teacher.' We find the same elision, e. g., in the forms *فَعِيل*, *فَعُول*, *فَعَال*, and *فَعَالَة*, for instance *ħçán*, *ħmír*, *flás*, *djájat* for *حصان* *ħiçán* 'horse,' *حمير* *ħamír* 'asses,' *فولس* *fulás* 'money,' and *دجاجة* *dajájat*. 'hen.'

(6) In the plural of the *nomen agentis* the second stem consonant is often syncopated, e. g. *kátbín*, *m'silmín*, *m'álmín* for *كاتبون* *katibūn* 'writers,' *مسلمون* *muslimūn* 'Muslimans,' and *معلمون* *mu'allimūn* 'teachers.'² The same syncope takes place in the dual form.³

(7) The same elision occurs after the second stem consonant of the 3 pers. sing. fem. and 3 pers. masc. plur. of the perfect, e. g. *lābisit*, *ħiznit*, *lābisu*, *ħazinat* for *لبست* *lābisat* 'she dressed,' *حزنت* *ħazinat* 'she was grieved,' *لبسوا* *labisū* 'they dressed,' and *حزنوا* *ħazinū* 'they were grieved.'⁴

(8) In the same way short vowels are dropped at the end, e. g. the final vowel of the termination of the 2 pers. sing. masc. of the

¹ Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*² § 48.

² We find the same elision even in Assyrian, e. g. *ášbu* 'dwelling' for *uššibu*, *šálšu* 'third' for *šálišu*. Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Grammar*, § 37.

³ In the dialect of Baghdād as well as in all the other modern Arabic dialects, the dual and plural forms of the participles are preserved only in their genitive case; as in Syriac and Hebrew, the nominative case has altogether disappeared, e. g. *كاتبين*, *عالمين*, *مدرسين* instead of *كاتبون*, *عالمون* and *مدرسون*, *kátbén*, *'álmén* and *mdarsén* for the old dual forms *كاتبان*, *عالمان* and *مدرسان*.

⁴ Cf. Dillmann, *Áthiop. Gram.*² §§ 37, 76.

perfect (e. g. *lbist*, *hzint* for لبست *labista* 'thou didst dress,' حزنت *hazinta* 'thou wast grieved')¹ or the overlapping vowels of the imperfect (e. g. *táhzan*, *álbaz*, *áhzan* for تحزن *táhzanu* 'thou art sad,' البس *álbazu* 'I dress,' احزن *áhzanu* 'I am sad'); or the final vowel of the possessive suffix of the second person (e. g. *kálbak*, *jísmak* for كلبك *kálbuka* 'thy dog,' جسمك *jísmuka* 'thy body').²

Owing to this apocope of the final vowel the 3 pers. fem. sing. of the perf. can be distinguished from the 2 pers. masc. sing. only by the accent: in the 3 pers. fem. sing. the accent is on the first syllable, while in the 2 pers. masc. sing. the accent is on the second syllable, e. g. *hāja qátalet*, *hāja ákalet* for هي قتلت *hāja qátalat* 'she has killed' and هي اكلت *hāja ákalat* 'she has eaten,' and *ánta qatálet*, *ánta akálet* for انت قتلت *ánta qatálta* 'thou hast killed' and انت اكلت *ánta akálta* 'thou has eaten.'³

(9) In the forms *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*, an auxiliary vowel is inserted in the second syllable just as in the corresponding Hebrew *Segolate* forms, e. g. *šámis* for شمس *šams* 'sun,' *bínit* for بنت *bint* 'daughter,' *qúdis* for قدس *quds* 'holiness.'⁴ The original form, however, is preserved before suffixes, just as in Hebrew מַלְכֵי, קְרָשִׁי, and קְרָשִׁי.

Contraction of Diphthongs.

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* of the classical Arabic are always pronounced *ē* and *ō*, e. g. *īóm*, *zēt*, *mól*, *hōš*, *bēt* for يوم *īaym* 'day,' زيت *zait* 'olive oil,' موت *maut* 'death,' حوش *hayš* 'courtyard,' بيت *bayt* 'house.' So also in the termination of the dual, e. g. *šahrēn*, *ktēbēn* for شهرين *šahrajn* 'two months,' and كتابين *kitábajn* 'two books,' as the 'plural of the genitive'⁵ is

¹ Cf. Stumne, *Gramm. des Tunisischen Arabisch.* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 7.

² For this apocope of final short vowels, cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*² § 50.

³ Cf. Heb. קְרָכַת = *bárakat*. Similarly we have in Syriac *qiṭlāth* = *qátalat* and *qátalt* = *qatálta*.

⁴ In Assyrian the characteristic vowel of the first syllable is repeated in the construct state of the forms *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*: *qatal*, *qitil*, *qutul*. Cf. Haupt in *Beiträge zur assyrischen Lautlehre* (Göttingen, 1883), p. 89, n. 3.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 102, n. 3.

used, e. g. *b'nân* instead of *بنون*, sons; this termination *-ân* can, of course, not be explained as *Imâle* of the nominative ending *-ân* in classical Arabic. We find this *ê* for *aî* also in the verbs *tertiâ* *تريت*, e. g. *ramêtu* for *رمايت*, *ramaitu* 'I threw.'

Contraction of the diphthongs obtains also in the other Arabic dialects, but in none of them is it so general and consistent as in the dialect of Baghdâd.¹ I have often heard Egyptians and Syrians pronounce *زيت* *zait*, *حوش* *ḥauš*, *موت* *maut*, etc., but the natives of Baghdâd always contract the diphthongs. In the dialect of *Zahle* in Northern Syria, on the other hand, the diphthongs are constantly preserved as in classical Arabic.

2. Morphological Notes.

One of the most striking peculiarities of the Arabic dialect of Baghdâd is the suffix *nâ* instead of *hû* in many cases, e. g. *ابونو* *abnâ* for *ابوه* *abûhu* 'his father,' *اخونو* *axnâ* for *اخوه* *axûhu* 'his brother,' *علينو* *alênâ* for *عليه* *alâihî* 'upon him,' *بينو* *bînâ* for *به* *bihî* 'in him,' *منو* *minnâ* for *منه* *minhu* 'from him,' *شنو* *šnâ* for *شيء هو* *ašîu šai'in hâya* 'what is it?' Also in the following forms of the verb: *قتلتونو* *qataltânâ* for *قتلته* *qataltuhu* 'I killed him,' *قتلناو* *qatalnânâ* for *قتلناه* *qatalnâhu* 'we killed him,' *قتلتينو* *qataltînâ* for *قتلتيه* *qataltîhî*² or *قتلته* *qataltîhî* 'thou (fem.) didst kill him,' *قتلتونو* *qataltûnu* for *قتلتموه* *qataltumâhu* 'you killed him,' *قتلونو* *qatalânâ* for *قتلوه* *qatalâhu* 'they killed him,' *تقتلينو* *taqtilînâ* for *تقتليه* *taqtulîhî*³ 'thou (fem.) wilt kill him,' *تقتلونو* *tiqtilânâ* for

¹ In the same way the diphthongs *ay* and *aî* appear as *û* and *î* in Assyrian; but the Hebrew name *הויטיל* is rendered at the time of Tiglathpileser III. (745-727) by *Ausi*, and at the time of Assurbanipal (668-626) the sheik of the Kedarenes is called *Uâte* and *Iayta'u*, i. e., probably, *واتح* and *يوتح* (cf. *يزيد*, *عمر*, *يعمر*, etc.), see Haupt, *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 21, n. 1; *Über den Halbvocal y im Assyrischen*, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 2, 261; *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 1, 170. 296.

² See Wright-de Goeje³, vol. 1, § 186, c; cf. Heb. *קטלתני*, etc.

³ For the survival of the by-form *hi* instead of *hu* in this case see Crit. Notes on Judges (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 66, l. 23.

تقتلوه *taqtulāhu* 'you will kill him,' يقتلونو *iqtilānā* for يقتلوه *iqtilānā* 'they will kill him,' and finally the 2 pers. plur. of the imperative, e. g. قتلونو *qtulānā* for اقتلوه *uqtulāhu* 'kill ye him,' and the 2 pers. sing. fem. قتليها *qtilīnā* for اقتليها *uqtulīhi* 'kill thou (fem.) him.' Professor Haupt compares this *nu* with the suffix in Heb. אֵינְנִי *he is not*, עוֹדֵנִי *he is still*, יִשְׁנֵנִי *he is.*¹ This *nā* may be based on the analogy of the suffix *nī* which we find in a number of cases instead of the possessive suffix *i*, e. g. אֵינְנִי, עוֹדֵנִי, הֵינְנִי, cf. Arabic اننى *innanī*, for *innī*, لكننى *lākinnanī* for *lākinnī*, ليسنى *laisanī* for *laisī*, etc., and the modern Arabic forms فينى *fīnī* and بينى *bīnī* for في and بي.² This *nī* is evidently identical with the verbal suffix of the first person.³ Brockelmann thinks that the suffix *ni* in *אֵינְנִי* is identical with the particle *אן* *anna* (lit. *it is not that he*); but this view is improbable. In Assyrian the verbal suffix appears not only as *nī*, but also, especially after a preceding *ū*, as *annū*, *innū*, e. g. *ilqā'innū-ma uštešībū'innū* 'they took me, and caused me to dwell' (in l. 205 of the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge). This shows that the verbal suffix *nī* is shortened from *annī*, *innū*, i. e. Heb. הֵנִי (*אן + י*).

Clermont-Ganneau, on the other hand, thinks that this *nā* of the Arabic dialect of Baghdād cannot be an emphatic *נ*, nor an element belonging to the preceding word; it must be therefore, he concludes, regarded as an integral part of the suffix itself, which, at an early time, may have been both *nū* and *hū*. According to Clermont-Ganneau this hypothesis is made more probable by the fact that in Phœnician we have both *הם* and *נם* as suffixes of the 3 pers. masc. plur.⁴ and if *נם* is the plural suffix, we may

¹ So we must point instead of the traditional יִשְׁנֵנִי; cf. Critical Notes on Numbers (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 57, l. 37; Stade, § 370, b; Brockelmann in ZA. 14, 347.

² Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch's *Hebrew Grammar*, § 103, d.

³ Contrast Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 100; Brockelmann, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 14, 347.

⁴ Cf. Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache* (Halle, 1869), § 57 (p. 158); Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*. (Weimar, 1898), p. 396.

assume that ٲ was the singular suffix, which is precisely the suffix ٲ preserved in the modern Arabic dialect of Baghdād.¹

In the two words ٲ father and ٲ brother, the suffix of the 1. pers. sing. masc. appears as ٲ: ٲ ٲ ٲ ٲ and ٲ ٲ ٲ instead of ٲ ٲ and ٲ ٲ. This suffix -ٲ may be a modification of the original form -ٲa (cf. Assyr. *abū'a*, *axū'a* for *abū'ia*, *axū'ia*) influenced by the ordinary form of the suffix of the first person -ٲ, just as Heb. ٲ ٲ *I killed*, instead of *qatālku*, and ٲ ٲ *I* instead of *andku*, were influenced by the ٲ of ٲ.²

A special peculiarity of the Baghdād dialect is the use of the two words ٲ *akū* 'there is,' and ٲ *mākū* 'there is not,' corresponding to ٲ and ٲ ٲ in the modern Arabic dialect of Egypt. Therefore Baghdād is called the 'Land of *Akū* and *Mākū*,' as Egypt is called the land of *Māfish*. The forms ٲ and ٲ are probably derived from some form of the verb ٲ *kan*, ٲ *to be*.

Proper Names.

In the Baghdād dialect there exists a special nominal form used exclusively for proper names, which, in the other Arabic dialects, contain the name of God ٲ. This form is ٲ *fa'ālū* which

¹ The following explanation has been suggested by Mr. Blake, of the Oriental Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University. The form ٲ *minhu* 'from him' of the classical language appears in the dialect of Baghdād as *minnū*, the *h* of the suffix being assimilated to the preceding consonant, just as in the Hebrew form ٲ ٲ *q'tālāttū* 'she killed him,' for ٲ ٲ *q'tālāthū*. The *nū* of this form *minnū* came to be regarded as the suffix of the third person masculine, and was extended by analogy to other prepositions; e. g. 'alēnū 'upon him,' bīnū 'in him;' just as the *ē* of Hebrew 'על and 'אל was extended to other prepositions like 'אחר, where originally it had no place. It was then still further extended to those verbal forms which end in a long vowel (the only exception being the form of the 2. pl. perf. with suffix *qatalkun-nū*, which might, however, be explained as derived from the feminine form ٲ *qatalkun* rather than from the masculine ٲ), and to the nouns ٲ *ab* 'father,' and ٲ *ax* 'brother,' which have at least a long vowel before the possessive suffixes, e. g. ٲ *abū-k* 'thy father,' ٲ *axū-nā* 'our brother.'

² Cf. Haupt, *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 53; Stade, § 179, a, n. 3.

does not occur in classical Arabic. Instead of نصر الله *Naṣrullāhi* (Help of God), شكر الله *Šukrullāhi* (Reward of God), رزق الله *Rizqullāhi* (Gift of God), عبد الله *‘Abdullāhi* (Servant of God) we find نصرى *Naṣṣūrī*, شكورى *Šakkūrī*, رزوقى *Razzāqī* and عبودى *‘Abbūdī*. Even the three Hebrew names, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael (מִיכָאֵל, גַּבְרִיאֵל, רַפְאֵאֵל), appear in the dialect of Baghdād as محولى *Maxxūlī*, جبورى *Jabbūrī* رافولى *Raffūlī*, thus showing the influence of analogy. It is used also for the feminine name فاطمة *Fāṭime* which appears as فطومة *Fattūme*.¹

This form فعولى is, according to Professor Haupt, a *nisbeh* derived from the intensive adjective form فَعُول, e. g. قَيَّوم *qaiyyūm* ‘everlasting,’ سَبَّوح *sabbūh* ‘all-glorious,’ قَدَّوس *qaddūs* ‘most holy.’² A name like نصرى may be a denominative derived from an intensive by-form of نصر *helper*, so that it would mean *Belonging to the Great Helper*, and شكورى from an intensive by-form of شكر, so that it means *Belonging to the Great Rewarder*. Several of these names are, of course, nothing but analogical formations.

For the *nomina unitatis* the form فعلة of the classical Arabic is never used, but the form فعلاية *fa‘lāiye* or فعلايى *fa‘lāiyyī*, which seems to be a diminutive of the form فعلة, e. g. نجمايى *najmāiyyī* ‘star, blaze,’ لحمايى *lahmāiyyī* ‘piece of meat,’ خبزايى *خبزايى* ‘a piece of bread,’ جبنايى *jibnāiyyī* ‘a piece of cheese,’ for لحمة, لحمية, خبزة and جبنة. The classical forms of these *nomina unitatis* are preserved in the modern Arabic dialects of Syria and Egypt.

3. LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Pronouns, Adverbs, and Prepositions.

I append here a list of the forms of the principal pronouns, adverbs, and prepositions used in the Arabic dialect of Baghdād with the corresponding forms in the other Arabic dialects.

¹ In north Morocco *Fattūš*; cf. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 3, 566.

² Cf. Wright-de Goeje, 1, 138, A, § 223, and Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 119.

Baghdād.		
هوني <i>hōnī</i>	=	هنا <i>hunā</i> 'here.'
هونيك <i>honīki</i>	=	هناك <i>hunāka</i> 'there.'
وين <i>wēn</i>	=	اين <i>aīna</i> 'where?'
هذوليك <i>hadhōlik</i>	=	اولئك <i>ulā'ika</i> 'those.'
هذولي <i>hadhōli</i>	=	هؤلاء <i>hā'ulā'i</i> 'these.'
هليوم <i>halīōm</i>	=	هذا اليوم <i>hādhalīayma</i> 'to-day.'
ه <i>ha</i>	=	هذا <i>hādḥā</i> 'this.'
هوينو <i>hayēnū</i>	=	هنا هو <i>huna hā'a</i> 'here it is.'
هم <i>hamm</i>	=	ايضا <i>aīḍa</i> 'also.'
همينا <i>hāmmēnā</i>	=	ايضا <i>aīḍa</i> 'also.'
ليش <i>lēš</i>	=	لأى شىء <i>li'aīi šai'in</i> 'why.'
مبلاش or بلاش <i>balāš</i> or <i>mbalāš</i>	=	بلا شىء <i>bilā šai'in</i> 'without pay, for nothing.'
مبوغر <i>mbōghir</i>	=	لأن <i>li'anna</i> 'because.'
شوية <i>šū'iye</i>	=	قليل <i>qalīl</i> 'little.'
كيف ما كان <i>kēf mā kán</i>	=	'however.'
شوقت <i>šū'qit</i>	=	في أى وقت <i>fī aīi yāqti'n</i> 'when?'
كل وقت <i>kull yāgit</i>	=	دائماً <i>dā'ima</i> 'always.'
بالعجل <i>bil'ajal</i>	=	حالا <i>ḥāla</i> 'immediately.'
عواى <i>'aū'afī</i>	=	هنينا <i>hanī'an</i> 'prosit!'
سوى <i>sāya</i>	=	سوية <i>sayū'iḡata</i> 'together.'
جو <i>jayya</i>	=	داخلا <i>dāxila</i> 'inside.'
بتر <i>bārra</i>	=	خارجا <i>xārijā</i> 'outside.'
شنو <i>šunū</i>	=	أى شىء هو <i>aīiū šai'in hāya</i> 'what is it?'
ويانو <i>uiānū</i>	=	مع <i>mā'ahu</i> 'with him.'
شبينو <i>šbīnū</i>	=	أى شىء به <i>aīiū šai'in bihi</i> (or مال) <i>(or māla)</i> 'what is the matter with him?'

¹ Cf. Talcott Williams' article on the spoken Arabic of North Morocco in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 3, 567, n. *.

² Cf. below, p. 110.

³ The diminutive of شىء.

⁴ Plur. of عافية *'aḡīe* 'health,' which is used in north Morocco for نار *fire*; cf. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 3, p. 577, l. 13.

⁵ I. e. *وإيا* + *واو المعية* *waīiāhu*, i. e. *إيا + نأ*, instead of *هأ* (cf. above, p. 104), cf. Wright-de Goeje², 2, 84, D.

VOCABULARY.

Foreign Words.

The vocabulary of the dialect of Baghdād has been enriched by a great many Syriac, Turkish, Persian, and European words. Of the words borrowed from the Syriac we may mention

سَكَّر	to lock the door, from	سَكَّر
طاف	supernatavit, from	طَف
شَطَف	to wash the hand, from	شَطَف
شَطَط	to draw the sword, from	شَطَط
فَلَّش	to destroy, from	فَلَّش
شَلَّح	to undress, from	شَلَّح

Also the form فاعول for *nomina agentis* as in شاغول *business man*, etc., seems to be due to the influence of the Syriac.*

Finally all the words relating to the Christian religion appear to be borrowed from the Syriac just as in the other Arabic dialects,⁵ e. g. تلميذ *talmidh* 'student' or 'disciple,' شماس *šammās*, 'ministerial assistant at the altar,' قَسّ *qess* or قَسَّيس *qassīs*, 'priest,' عباد *‘mād* 'baptism,' كاهن *kāhin* 'priest,'⁶ كاروز *kārūz*

* From this word we have طوف *tōf*, the name for the inflated skins put under rafts (*keleks* = Syriac كَلْكَا or كَلْكَا *kalkā* or *k'lakkā*). The ancient Assyrian name for these inflated skins was *gabšū*; cf. Crit. Notes on Ezekiel (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 65, l. 15.

² Cf. for this verb Crit. Notes on Proverbs (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 38, l. 42.

³ In the last four stems the identity of the sibilant shows that these stems are not genuine Arabic words; otherwise we should expect a س for ط; cf. Haupt. *Sumer. Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 20, n. 3; ZDMG., 34, 762, n. 2; *Beitr. zur assyr. Lautlehre* (Göttingen, 1883), p. 101, § 7; Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.* (Leyden, 1886), p. xiv.
⁴ Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*², § 107, and Barth, *Nominal-bildung*, § 122, 10.

⁵ So also in Ethiopic, e. g. *qasīs* 'priest,' plur. *qasāyēst*, *hajmānōt* 'faith,' etc., etc.; cf. Prätorius, *Äthiop. Gr.* (Karlsruhe, 1886), p. 1, n. *; see also Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, pp. 275 ff.

⁶ The genuine Arabic كاهن means *seer, soothsayer*, cf. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidenthums*², pp. 134, 143.

'preacher,'¹ مَشْكَاة *máshka* 'extreme unction,'² ناقوس *nāqós* 'bell,' etc.—from مَصْمَمًا, مَصْمَمًا, مَصْمَمًا or مَصْمَمًا, مَصْمَمًا, مَصْمَمًا, مَصْمَمًا (or مَصْمَمًا or مَصْمَمًا), مَصْمَمًا.

From the Persian and Turkish languages we may mention the few following words

- صاغ *saġh* 'genuine, in good condition.'
 بلكي *balki* 'perhaps.'
 چرك *čurak* 'defective.'
 هلبت *halbát* 'necessarily, of course.'
 هم *hamm* 'also.'
 يواش *ieuāš* 'slowly.'
 چوبش *čauš* 'policeman.'³
 گدیش *gdīš* 'a poor horse.'
 پرده *perde* 'curtain.'
 پشكير *peškīr* 'napkin.'
 چول *čól* 'open field.'
 توفنگ *tuféng* 'gun.'
 ميوه *mēuāh* 'fruits.'
 زنگين *zenġin* 'rich man.'

and some 200 other words.

Among the loan-words borrowed from European languages we may mention :

- بطل *buṭul*, from *bottle*.
 گلاس *glāss*, from *glass*.
 ميز *mēz*, from Lat. *mensa*, 'dining table.'
 طاولة *ṭāule*, from Ital. *tavola* 'table.'

¹ Aram. ܩܪܝܢܐ *Qarīnā* Dan. 3, 4; cf. Greek *Κηρύσσω*.

² The ش shows here that the word is borrowed from Aramaic. The genuine Arabic form of this stem has a س; cf. above, p. 109, n. 3. and Crit. Notes on Numbers (in *The Polychrome Bible*), p. 52, l. 26.

³ *Cavass*, قواس originally *archer*.

شفقة *šafqa*, from French *chapeau* 'hat.'

لوكدنة *locanda*, from Ital. *locanda*.

فاپور *vapor*, from Ital. *vapore* 'steamer.'

كاپلة *câpella*, from Italian *cappella* 'chapel.'

برنيطة *barnêta*, from Italian *berretta* 'cap.'

مغارة *maghâza*, from *magazin*, which is, of course, originally a genuine Arabic word, مخزن *mâxzan*, plur. مخازن *maxâzin* 'storehouse,' from خزن *to accumulate, to store up*.

Finally we append a list of some other words commonly used in Baghdâd :

شاف *šâf* 'to see.'

باوع *bâʿa* 'to look.'

راح *râh* 'to go away.'

جاب *jâb* 'to bring here or in.'

توجع *tawajja* 'to be sick.'

تعال *taʿâl* 'come here!'

انقلع *inqili* 'get away!'

طلع *ṭâla* 'to go out.'

بات *bâq* 'to steal.'

سوى *sâwya* 'to make.'

وذي *wâdda* 'to bring away.'

سد *sâdda* 'to close.'

زمال *zmâl* 'ass.'

غرض *ghârad* 'thing.'

خطار *xuttâr* 'guest.'

عتيق 'atîq 'old' (of things).

كسر الصفرة *kasrilçifra* 'to breakfast.'

ساييس *sâiis* 'hostler,' from the Aramaic or Hebrew word for horse, شيسا (Assyr. *sîsâ*), ܫܝܫܐ.

مبيحة *mbêha* 'to-morrow.'

ماوى *māyi* 'blue' = ماءى, i. e. the color of the water; the word ازرق *ázraq* for *blue* is never used in Baghdád.

هاشاة *hāša* = بقرة *báqarat* 'cow.'

بسنوقة *bastóqa* 'jar.'

خشم *xāšim* 'nose.'

حلو *hulu* (lit. *sweet*) is used for a *beautiful man, woman or thing*.

ابرش *ábraš* = اشقر *ášqar* 'blond.'

بلور *ballar* 'crystal.'

مروطية *mutiyya* 'she-ass.'

واوى *wāwi* = ابن اوى *ibn áwá* 'fox.'

Proper Names.

As a rule the Mohammedans and the Arabs in Baghdád and in the surrounding country bear pure Arabic names. The most common names for men are: محمد *Mhámmed*, عباس *Abbás*, حسن *Hásan*, حسين *Hsén*, على *Áli*, جعفر *Já'far*, حمود *Mahmúd*;—and for women—فاطمة *Fátime* or *Fat-táme*, خديجة *Xadíje*, علية *Álije*, سعدة *Sá'de*, حسنة *Hásne*.

The Jews always have Hebrew names, e. g.:

موشى *Móši* = משה.

عزرا *Izra* = יזרא.

حزقييل *Hazqiíl* = חזקיהל (or יהוקאל).

هارون *Hárún* = אהרון.

دانيال *Dániál* = דניאל.

سارة *Čáre* = שרה.

ريقة *Rápqe* = רבקה.

زلفة *Zilfe* = זלפה.

חסدة *Hásde* = חסדה.

راحيل *Râhîl* = רַחֵל.

ليا *Lîie* = לֵיאָה.

The Christians have names taken from the Old and New Testaments, names of saints, martyrs, etc., but often also pure Arabic names as نعيم *Na'im*, سليم *Selîm*, مجيد *Mejîd*, جميل *Jamîl*, for men;—and جميلة *Jamîle*, فهيمة *Fahîme*, منيرة *Munîre*, ودیعة *Wadî'a*, etc., for women. Some also have European names as اسکندر *Iskânder* (Alexander), ولیم *Willîam*, جورج *Jôrj* (George) or جرجس *Jirjes* for men;—and رچینا *Râgîne* (Regina), الیزة *Elîze* (Eliza), کارولین *Kârôlîn* (Caroline), جوزفین *Jozefîn* (Josephine) for women.

4. SPECIMEN OF THE MODERN ARABIC DIALECT OF BAGHDÂD.

WITH TRANSLITERATION, ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND RETRANSLATION INTO CLASSICAL ARABIC.

مبنيك غمحت عند ابويي بالسوق وما شفتونو هونيك ميوغر
 كان كن غاح لغبيغ مكان وزعلت كتبيغ وبعدو رجعت للبيت
 وقتلوه لبي وخبرتوه وهي همينا اخصغت كتبيغ . ولما صاغ
 المسا سألت ابويي وقتلوه وين كنت يا ابويي هلبوم الصبح
 وهو جاوبني وقتلي يا ولدي كنت غمحت لسوق حتى اطلع
 الصناديق الي وصلتنى مبنيك من اوروپا وبعدو شوغنى ياها
 وفغنا نيا كتبيغ .

TRANSLITERATION.

*Mbēha ḡihū 'ind abūyi bissōq ymē šiftunū hōnāki mbōḡir
 kān kīn ḡāḡ lēḡīḡ mān wazallat ktīḡ ybādā rj'itu libēt yqiltālēh
 limmi yxabbartāyeh² yḡīḡ hammēna nḡaṣārīt ktīr. ykūmmē ṣār-*

¹ The ḡ is a guttural (velar or postpalatal) r, as in French or German; cf. *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, I, 257, n. 9.

² For x = خ see *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, I, 255.

*il-mese sa'áltá abú'íi uqiltála u'en kinit íá abú'íi halíóm-iççibiḥ
 yháwe jáwébní uqállí íá ueledí kintu rihtu lissóq hitte atállí-iççen-
 edíq illi uqiltni mbéha min Órópe uba'adá sauúáfni íáhá uif'úhne
 biḥe ktír.*

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

When I had gone yesterday to (see) my father in the market, I did not see him there; he had gone to some other place. I was very much disappointed. Then I went home and told my mother and informed her. She, too, was very much disappointed. When the evening came, I asked my father, and said to him: "Where were you this morning, father?" He answered and said to me: "My boy, I had gone to the market to take out the trunks which had been sent to me yesterday from Europe." Thereupon he showed them to me, and we both liked them very much.

RETRANSLATION INTO CLASSICAL ARABIC.

البارحة كنت ذهبت عند ابي بالسوق وما رايتُه هناك لانه
 كان قد ذهب الى غير مكان وزعلت كثيرا وبعده رجعت الى
 البيت وقلت لامي واخبرتها وهي ايضا زعلت كثيرا ولما صار
 المساء سألت ابي وقلت له أين كنت يا ابنتي اليوم صباحا وهو
 اجابني وقال لي يا ولدي كنت ذهبت الى السوق حتى استخرج
 الصناديق التي وصلتنى البارحة من اوروپيا وبعده أراى اياها
 وفرحنا بها كثيرا.

Die farbige Bibel herausgegeben von Paul Haupt.

Englische Übersetzung.

Hiervon sind erschienen:

- The Book of Leviticus.** Translated by The Rev. S. R. DRIVER, D. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. viii and 107 pages, printed in three colors (55 pages of Translation and 52 pages of Notes). With four full-page illustrations (one of them in colors) and four illustrations in the Notes. Cloth, (*M* 6.00; 6/; \$ 1.25 net.)
- The Book of Joshua.** Translated by The Rev. W. H. BENNETT, M. A., Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature at Hackney and New Colleges, London, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. viii and 94 pages, printed in nine colors (43 pages of Translation and 51 pages of Notes, including an illustrated Excursus on the el-Amarna Tablets and an Alphabetical List of Geographical Names). With eleven full-page illustrations (one of them in colors) and 25 illustrations in the Notes. Cloth, (*M* 6.00; 6/; \$ 1.25 net.)
- The Book of Judges.** Translated by The Rev. G. F. MOORE, D. D., Professor of Hebrew, Andover Theological Seminary. xii and 99 pages, printed in seven colors (42 pages of Translation and 57 pages of Notes). With seven full-page illustrations (including a Map of the Twelve Tribes, in colors) and 21 illustrations in the Notes. Cloth, (*M* 6.00; 6/; \$ 1.25 net.)
- The Book of the Prophet Isaiah.** Translated by The Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, D. D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, and Canon of Rochester. xii and 216 pages, printed in seven colors (128 pages of Translation, 88 pages of Notes). With nine full-page illustrations and 28 illustrations in the Notes. Cloth, (*M* 10.00; 10/6; \$ 2.50 net.)
- The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel.** Translated by Prof. C. H. TOY, D. D., LL. D., Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages, and Lecturer on Biblical Literature in Harvard University. viii and 208 pages (89 pages of Translation and 119 pages of Notes). With nine full-page illustrations (including a Map of Western Asia, time of Nebuchadnezzar) and 102 illustrations in the Notes. Cloth, (*M* 10.00; 10/6; \$ 2.50 net.)
- The Book of Psalms.** Translated by Prof. JULIUS WELHAUSEN, D. D., Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages, University of Göttingen and Dr. HORACE HOWARD FURNESS, Philadelphia. xii and 238 pages (161 pages of Translation and 77 pages of Notes, including an Illustrated Appendix on the Music of the Ancient Hebrews). With eight full-page illustrations (one of them in colors) and 58 illustrations in the Notes. Cloth, (*M* 10.00; 10/6; \$ 2.50 net.)

DEUTSCHE VERLAGS-ANSTALT

Stuttgart

JAMES CLARKE & CO.
13 & 14 FLEET STREET
London, E. C.

DODD, MEAD, & CO.
372 FIFTH AVENUE
New York.

Die bisher erschienenen Bände dieser neuen kritischen Übersetzung des Alten Testaments sind durch jede deutsche Buchhandlung (von James Clarke & Co. in London) zu beziehen.

Druck von August Pries in Leipzig.

Die farbige Bibel herausgegeben von Paul Haupt. Hebräischer Text.

Neue kritische Ausgabe des Alten Testaments
mit farbiger Unterscheidung der verschiedenen Quellen,
nebst textkritischen Anmerkungen in englischer Sprache,
unter dem Titel:

The Sacred Books of the Old Testament.

Soeben erschienen:

19. **Esra-Nehemia**, von H. GUTHE, Leipzig, und L. W. BATTEN, New York.
72 Seiten in 10 Farben, 1901 M. 6.00

Im Sommer 1901 erscheint:

15. **Sprüche**, von A. MÜLLER (†) und E. KAUTZSCH, Halle. 86 Seiten
in schwarz und rot M. 5.50

Früher sind erschienen:

1. **Genesis**, von C. J. BALL, Oxford. 120 S. in 8 Farben, 1896. M. 7.50
3. **Leviticus**, von S. R. DRIVER, Oxford. 32 S. in 3 Farben, 1894. M. 2.50
4. **Numeri**, von J. A. PATERSON, Edinburg. 67 S. in 8 Farben, 1900. M. 5.50
6. **Josua**, von W. H. BENNETT, London. 32 S. in 8 Farben, 1895. M. 3.00
7. **Richter**, von GEO. F. MOORE, Andover. 72 S. in 7 Farben, 1900. M. 6.00
8. **Samuel**, von K. BUDDE, Marburg. 100 S. in 9 Farben, 1894. M. 6.50
10. **Jesaja**, von T. K. CHEYNE, Oxford. 206 S. in 7 Farben, 1899. M. 12.50
11. **Jeremia**, von C. H. CORNILL, Breslau. 80 S. in schwarz u. rot, 1895. M. 5.00
12. **Ezechiel**, von C. H. TOY, Cambridge, Mass. 116 Seiten, 1899. M. 7.50
14. **Psalmen**, von J. WELHAUSEN, Göttingen. 96 Seiten in
schwarz und rot, 1895. M. 6.00
17. **Hioß**, von C. SIEGFRIED, Jena. 50 Seiten in 4 Farben, 1893. M. 3.50
18. **Daniel**, von A. KAMPHAUSEN, Bonn. 43 S. in schwarz u. rot, 1896. M. 3.00
20. **Chronik**, von R. KITTEL, Leipzig. 82 Seiten in 5 Farben, 1895. M. 6.00

Im Druck befinden sich:

5. **Deuteronomium**, von G. A. SMITH, Glasgow.
9. **Könige**, von B. STADE, und F. SCHWALLY, Giessen.

Wir führen die Bücher auch in geschmackvollen Leinenbänden mit
Goldschnitt oben. Preis je M. 1.50 mehr.

Assyriologische Bibliothek

herausgegeben von

Friedrich Delitzsch und **Paul Haupt.**

Soeben erschienen:

JOHNS, C. W. H. *An Assyrian Doomsday Book or Liber Censualis of the district round Harran.* Copied from the cuneiform tablets in the British Museum. Transliterated and translated, with index of proper names and glossary. VIII und 82 S. mit 17 autogr. Tafeln.

[XVII. Band] M. 21 —

Im vorigen Jahre erschienen:

DELITZSCH, F. *Assyrische Lesestücke* mit grammatischen Tabellen und vollständigem Glossar. Vierte durchaus neu bearbeitete Auflage. 1900.

[XVI. Band] M. 18 —

ZIMMERN, H. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion.* 1. Die Beschwörungstafeln Surpu. — 2. Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger.

[XII. Band] M. 65 —

Früher sind erschienen:

HAUPT, P. *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte.* 1.—4. Lieferung.

[I. Band] M. 36 —

BEZOLD, C. *Die Achämeniden=Inschriften.*

[II. Band] M. 24 —

HAUPT, P. *Das Babylonische Nimrod=Epös.* 1. und 2. Abteilg.

[III. Band] M. 38 —

STRASSMAIER, J. N. *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der assyrischen und akkadischen Wörter* im zweiten Bande der *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.*

[IV. Band] M. 150 —

LYON, D. G. *Keilschrifttexte Sargon's, König's von Assyrien.*

[V. Band] M. 24 —

ZIMMERN, H. *Babylonische Huzpsalmen.*

[VI. Band] M. 30 —

DELITZSCH, F. *Assyrisches Wörterbuch.*

[VII. Band] M. 91.50

LEHMANN, C. F. *Samassumukin, König von Babylonien.*

[VIII. Band] M. 40 —

WEISSBACH, F. H. *Die Achämeniden=Inschriften zweiter Art.*

[IX. Band] M. 30 —

WEISSBACH, F. H., und **W. BANG,** *Die altpersischen Keilschriften.* 1. Lieferung.

[X. Band] M. 10 —

MEISSNER, B. *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht.*

[XI. Band] M. 30 —

CRAIG, J. A. *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts.* 2 Vols.

[XIII. Band] M. 33.50

CRAIG, J. A. *Astrological-Astronomical Texts.*

[XIV. Band] M. 30 —

PRICE, J. M. *The Great Cylinder Inscriptions (A & B) of Gudea.* Part. I. Text and Sign-List.

[XV. Band] M. 34 —

Gef. wenden!

Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft

herausgegeben von

Friedrich Delitzsch und **Paul Haupt**.

Im Frühjahr 1901 erschienen:

Vierter Band, Heft 3: Knudtzon, Weitere Studien zu den El-Amarna-Tafeln (59 und 18 S.) — Lindl, Die Datenliste der ersten Dynastie von Babylon (63 S. mit 4 Abbildgn. und 7 Seiten Bemerkungen von F. Delitzsch). — Meissner, Falkenjagden bei den Babyloniern und Assyern (5 S.) M. 9 —

Früher sind erschienen:

Erster Band, 1889—1890. M. 40 —
Delitzsch, Zur assyrisch-babylonischen Brieflitteratur. 2 Aufsätze. — Ein Thonkegel Sin-idinnam's. — Flemming, Der literarische Nachlaß G. F. Grottsfeld's. — Hiob Ludolf. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Philologie. — Haupt, Das Nominalpräfix *na* im Assyrischen. — Die zwölfte Tafel des babylonischen Nimrod-Epos. — Ergebnisse einer neuen Collation der Izdubar-Legenden. — Zur assyrischen Nominallehre. — Die semitischen Sprachlaute und ihre Umschrift. — Die beiden Halb-vocale *u* und *i*. — Verzeichniß der Abkürzungen. — Makkûzu oder makkûru? — Jäger, Der Halbvocal *i* im Assyrischen. — Das babylonische Hiatuszeichen. — Jeremias, J. Die Cultustafel von Sippar. — Kraetzschmar, Relativpronomen und Relativsätze im Assyrischen. — Die Präposition *sa* im Assyrischen. — Nestle, Die Verba mediae *æ* im Syrischen. — Praetorius, Zur äthiopischen Grammatik und Etymologie. — Steindorff, Die keilschriftliche Wisdergabe ägyptischer Eigennamen. — Zehnpfund, Babylonische Weberrechnungen.

Zweiter Band, 1891—1894. M. 42 —
Belser, Babylonische Kudurru-Inschriften. — Delitzsch, Zur assyrisch-babylonischen Brieflitteratur. 3. Aufsatz. — Der Berliner Merodachbaladan-Stein. — Bemerkungen zu einigen altbabylonischen Königs- und Personennamen. — Flemming, Sir Henry Rawlinson und seine Verdienste um die Assyriologie. — Hagen, Keilschrifturkunden zur Geschichte des Königs Cyrus. (Mit 10 S. Nachträgen von F. Delitzsch und 2 Tafeln: die Nabûnald-Annalen. — Harper, Die babylonischen Legenden von Etana, Zu, Adapa und Dibbarra. — Hommel, Über den Grad der Verwandtschaft des Altägyptischen mit dem Semitischen. — Jäger, Assyrische Räthel und Sprichwörter. — Knudtzon, Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Lay. 17. 18. — Lehmann, Ein Siegelcylinder König Bur-Sin's von Isin. — Meissner, Altbabylonische Briefe. — Assyrische Freibriefe. — Muse-Arnolt, The Works of Jules Oppert. — Philippi, Die semitische Verbal- und Nominalbildung in ihrem Verhältniß zu einander. — Praetorius, Über die hamitischen Sprachen Ostafrikas. — Streng, On some Oracles to Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. — Zimmermann, Zusatzbemerkungen zur Legende von Adapa.

Dritter Band, 1895—1898. M. 40 —
Billerbeck, u. A. Jeremias, Der Untergang Nineveh's, und die Weissagungsschrift des Nahum von Elkosch. — Breckelmann, Ibn Gauzi's Kitâb al-Wafâ' fi fadâ'il al-Mustafâ, nach der Leidener Handschrift untersucht. — Delitzsch, Notizen zu den neubabylonischen Kontrakttafeln. — Demuth, Fünfzig Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus der Zeit des Königs Kyros (538—529 v. Chr.) — Fraenkel, Zum sporadischen Lautwandel in den semitischen Sprachen. — Jastrow Jr., A new Fragment of the Babylonian Etana Legend. — McGee, Zur Topographie Babylons auf Grund der Urkunden Nabopolassars und Nebukadnezars. I. Th. — Meissner, Altbabylonische Gesetze. — Meissner und Rost, Die Bauinschriften Assarhaddons. — Thureau-Dangin, Les chiffres fractionnaires dans l'écriture babylonienne archaïque. — Williams, The spoken Arabic of North Morocco. — Ziemer, Fünfzig Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus der Zeit des Königs Kambyses.

Vierter Band, Heft 1 und 2. 1899, 1900. M. 18 —
Delitzsch, Zur juristischen Litteratur Babyloniens. — Delitzsch u. Knudtzon, Briefe Hammurabi's an Sin-idinnam. — Friedrich, Die Ausgrabungen von Sendschirli und das bit hillâni. — Knudtzon, Ergebnisse einer Collation der El-Amarna-Tafeln. — Marx, Die Stellung der Frauen in Babylonien gemäss den Kontrakten aus der Zeit von Nebukadnezar bis Darius (604—485). — Mitthoven, Hebräische Inschriften aus Palmyra. — Sebernheim, Palmyrenische Inschriften. — Weissbach, Zur Serie Maklu. — Susseche Thontäfelchen. — Zehnpfund, Zuqaqû, das Schröpfinstrument der Babylonier.

Das vierte Heft des vierten Bandes erscheint im Herbst 1901.

Vornehme, rote Halblederbände je 5 M. für den Band.

Gef. wenden!

